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THE CORONATION AND CHURCHING OF QUEEN PHILIPPA IN THE FOURTH YEAR OF THE REIGN OF EDWARD III OF ENGLAND, INCLUDING AN UNPUBLISHED GREAT WARDROBE INDENTURE RELATING TO THESE OCCASIONS

(C)

by

JANIS CRAIG MCMURCHY

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled "The Coronation and Churching of Queen Philipa in the Fourth Year of the Reign of Edward III of England, Including an Unpublished Great Wardrobe Indenture Relating to These Occasions" submitted by Janis Craig McMurchy in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

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Date ..... 5 December 1975

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THE MANUSCRIPT

The manuscript P.R.O. MS E.101/385/12 is an indenture which was drawn up between William la Zouche, clerk of the great wardrobe of king Edward III, and William of London, tailor of queen Philippa. It is a list of articles received by the tailor from William la Zouche "for divers clothing for the coronation and churching of the lady queen herself and also for robes and other necessities for the body of the lady queen herself, made in the fourth year of the reign of king Edward, the third from the Conquest, beginning the twenty-fifth day of January and ending the twenty-fourth day of January in the same year. . . ". The document is dated some time in May, in the fifth year of the reign of Edward III, that is, in 1331. Because a piece of the document is missing which includes a portion of the dating clause, the day of the month remains unknown. In addition to listing the materials required to make robes and various articles of clothing for the queen, the indenture includes an account of the materials needed to make a partition for her chapel, decorate her chamber, and to make curtains, canopies, coverlets, coverchiefs, pillows, cushions, and mattresses for three beds and two cradles. Miscellaneous items are noted, such as the amount and kind of material needed to wrap up the robes and beds for safe-keeping and to

make covers for the queen's cart or chariota, the furs and fabrics received by her ladies and damsels, and the number of copper rings required to hang curtains in her chamber.

The indenture, written on parchment, was originally 20-1/2 inches long, and 10-1/4 inches wide, and consists of 75 lines of closely written script. The bottom right corner at some time was torn off, removing portions of lines 65-75 inclusive.

The document is written in a single diminutive but legible fourteenth century court hand. Abbreviations are numerous, and while these are standard, extensions present difficulties at times because of the specialized nature of the items provided for the queen. Additions and corrections have been made by the same hand. Spelling is not always consistent throughout the document, nor is capitalization. Quantities are written both in Roman numerals and in the extended form. In lines 39 and 50, the numbers are underlined. Punctuation is the only other form of marking on the document.

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INTRODUCTION

The following thesis, submitted in partial requirement for the degree of M.A., is based upon an unpublished great wardrobe indenture detailing a variety of items released by the keeper of the great wardrobe to the tailor of queen Philippa for her coronation, the purification ceremony after the birth of Edward of Woodstock and the annual great festivals of the Church. A Latin transcription of the indenture will be found in an appendix to the thesis.

To place the indenture in its proper setting, the thesis considers the youth and marriage of the queen, and the administrative machinery which produced the document. An attempt is made to gather together the meagre information available on the coronation of English queens, and the ceremony of ritual church cleansing. The indenture, of course, is considered in detail.

CHAPTER I

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Philippa of Hainault, the "domina regina" in the indenture, was the wife of Edward III of England and the mother of Edward the Black Prince, one of the most celebrated heroes of the Middle Ages. Sir John Froissart, a well-known fourteenth century chronicler patronized by the queen, has left the following flattering tribute to her:

> Since the days of queen Guinevere, who was wife to king Arthur and queen of England (which men called Great Britain in those days), so good a queen never came to that land, nor any who had so much honour or such fair offspring; for in her time, by King Edward her spouse, she had seven sons and five daughters. And so long as she lived, the realm of England enjoyed grace, prosperity, honour, and all good fortune; nor was there ever enduring famine or dearth in the land while she reigned there. . . . Tall and straight she was; wise, gladsome, humble, devout, free handed and courteous; and in her time she was richly adorned with all noble virtues, and well beloved of God and men.[1]

Philippa was the third daughter of William the Good, count of Hainault, Holland, and Zeeland, and his wife, Jeanne de Valois. The year of her birth is not certain. Some years ago, a document which claims to be a description of Philippa as a child, was brought to the attention of historians by G. G. Coulton.[2] Written in Norman French and now frequently quoted in Coulton's translation, it reads as follows:

> The lady whom we saw has not uncomely hair, betwixt blue-black and brown. Her head is clean-shaped; her forehead

> high and broad, and standing somewhat forward. Her face narrows between the eyes, and the lower part of her face still more narrow and slender than the forehead. Her eyes are blackish-brown and deep. Her nose is fairly smooth and even, save that it is somewhat broad at the tip and also flattened, yet it is no snub-nose. Her nostrils are also broad, her mouth fairly wide. Her lips somewhat full and especially the lower lip. Her teeth which have fallen and grown again are white enough, but the rest are not so white. The lower teeth project a little beyond the upper; yet this but little seen. Her ears and chin are comely enough. Her neck, shoulders, and all her body and lower limbs are reasonably set and unmaimed; and nought is amiss so far as a man may see. Moreover, she is brown of skin all over and much like her father; and in all things she is pleasant enough, as it seems to us. And the damsel will be of the age of nine years on St. John's day next to come as her mother saith. She is neither too tall not too short for such an age; she is of fair carriage, and well taught in all that becometh her rank, and highly esteemed and well beloved of her father and mother and of all her meinie in so far as we could inquire and learn the truth.[3]

There is some question whether or not this description actually refers to Philippa or to her older sister Sybella, who died in her early youth. The document, found in the register of Walter Stapledon, bishop of Exeter, is dated 1319, and bears the title, "Inspeccio et Descripico filie comitis Hanonie." To this, a later hand was added, "que vocatur Philippa et fuit Regina Anglie, nupta Edwardo III post conquestum."[4] The addition may have been made by someone who merely assumed that because Edward did marry a daughter of the count, this description must necessarily refer to Philippa. Since there is a tradition that Sybella had been considered as a match for Edward some years earlier, it may well be a description of the elder sister.[5] In addition, if Froissart is correct in stating that Philippa was "sus le pont de quatorze ans" on her wedding

day in 1327, Philippa would have been five or six years old in 1319, not nine.[6]

Other descriptions of Philippa's appearance survive, but their reliability is questionable because their authors may have been paying tribute to convention or using literary devices. An interesting reference to the girl is found in the rhyming chronicle of John Hardyng, a contemporary of Froissart and Chaucer. Hardyng, narrating the visit of Adam Orleton, bishop of Hereford to the court of the count of Hainault[7] to officially choose a bride for the new king of England, Edward III, tells how the bishop and his companions watched from "a chambre prevy and secretife," the young daughters of the count. After careful observation,

> Emog theim selfes our lordes for hie prudence,
> of the bishop asked counsaill and sentence,
> whiche doughter of five should bee the quene;
> who counsailled thus with sad avisement,
> Wee will have hir with good (hippis I Mene)
> For she will bere good soones at myne entent;
> To which thei all accorded by one assent,
> And chase Philip that was full feminine,
> As the bishop moost wise did determyne.

Then in a light-hearted vein Hardyng adds,

> But then emog theim selfes thei laugh fast ay,
> The Lordes then said, the bishop couth
> Full mekill skyll of a woman alwaye,
> that so couth chese a lady that was uncouth,
> (and for ye mery woordes that came of his mouth)
> Thei trowed he had right great experience
> of womanes rules and hir convenience.[8]

At a later point in his chronicle, writing about the family of Edward and Philippa, Hardyng declares:

> There was no king Christen had such sonnes five
> of lyklynesse and persones at that time alive:
> So hygh and large they were of all stature,

the leste of them was of persone able
To have foughten with any creature
Singler batayle in actes mancyable:
The bishop's wit me thinketh was comendable,
So well coulde chese the princess yt them bare.[9]

A description of Philippa survives from a Latin epitaph which was hung by her tomb in Westminster Abbey. The epitaph itself has been destroyed, but it was translated into English by the poet Skelton, who lived about a hundred years after her death.

Faire Philippe, William Hainault's child, and
younger daughter deare,
of roseate hue and beauty bright . . .
This Philipee, flowered in gifts full rare and treasures
of the mind,
In beauty bright, religion, faith, to all and each
most kind.[10]

Philippa's tomb effigy may be an accurate representation of her, but it is not a pleasing one. It is the face and figure of an older woman, fat and rather plain. But as one of her biographers observes, since it apparently represents her at the time of her death and after she had long suffered from a disfiguring disease, it probably does her little justice.[11]

The circumstances of Philippa's marriage to the young English king and the first years of her marriage must be seen in the light of some of the events of the troubled reign of the previous king, Edward II. Throughout most of his reign, Edward was in conflict with many of the leading men in the kingdom. He alienated a number of his great subjects by his unconventional personal tastes, his choice

of friends and advisors which excluded many from what they considered their rightful place in the government of the realm, and his lack of success in a discouraging, costly war with Scotland. Consequently, there were baronial attempts to resist the king's power, and corresponding attempts on the part of the king to resist their control. In March, 1322, after his chief opponent, Thomas of Lancaster, was defeated in battle at Boroughbridge and subsequently executed, Edward was at last able to free himself from baronial control. With the help of the two Hugh Despensers, Edward ruled the kingdom, and this period saw some important administrative reforms. As able and efficient as they were, the Despensers were resented because of their wealth, rapaciousness, pride, and overbearing influence with the king. They particularly antagonized Isabella, Edward's queen. This antagonism became apparent when Isabella went to France on a diplomatic mission in 1325, and her eldest son, Edward of Windsor, joined her in September of that year to do homage for the duchy of Aquitaine. She and the prince, when the mission was completed, refused to return to England as long as the Despensers remained in power. She openly consorted with English exiles in France, particularly with the marcher lord, Roger Mortimer of Wigmore. Forced out of France by the pressure of the Despensers upon her brother, Charles IV of France, she fled to the principality of Hainault within the German empire with her son and supporters.[12]

Arriving in Hainault, Isabella was received by her cousin Jeanne de Valois and her husband, Count William. In the words of Froissart,

> The erle Guyllaume of Heynaulte . . . receyved her with great joye, and in lyke wyse so dyd the countesse his wyfe, and feasted her ryght nobly. And as than this erle hadde foure fayre doughters, Margaret, Phylyppe, Jane, and Isabell; amonge whome the yong Edwarde sette moost his love and company on Phylyppe; and also the yong lady in al honour was more conversunt with hym than any of her susters. Thus the quene Isabell abode at Valencynnes by the space of eight daies with the good erle and with the countess Jane de valoys. In the meane tyme the quene aparailed for her needis and besynesse. . . .[13]

Although Froissart's account suggests that Philippa and Edward fell in love at this time, there is no proof that this was the case. Isabella's "needis and besynesse" were to raise an army to invade England. The count's brother, John, was only too eager to help, and according to Froissart,

> [He] wrote letters ryght effectuously unto knightis and suche companyons as he trusted best in all Heynaulte, in Brabant, and in Behaigne, and prayed them for all amyties, that was bitwene theym, that they wolde goo with hym in this entreprise in to Inglande; and so there were great plentye what of one countrey and other that were content to go with hym for his love.[14]

Froissart adds that the count tried to discourage his brother, believing that the enterprise was too dangerous. However,

> The gentle knyght wolde never chaunge his purpose, but sayd he hadde but one dethe to dye, the whiche was in the will of God: and also sayd, that all knyghtes ought to ayd to theyr powers all ladyes and damozels chased out of theyr owne countrey, beyng without counsaile or comfort.[15]

The count's opposition, if in fact there was any at all, was soon overcome. No doubt Isabella's promise of a marriage between one of his daughters and the heir to the English throne if the invasion was successful, was instrumental in this. The fact that Edward II, in a letter to his son, had specifically ordered the prince "not to marry until he have returned to the king, or without the king's assent and command,"[16] seems to have been totally disregarded. The count agreed to advance a large portion of his daughter's dowry, which was used by the queen to help finance her campaign.

> Than the quene of Inglande took leve of the erle of Heynaulte and of the countesse, and thanked theym greatly of their honour, feast and good chere, that they hadde made her, kyssynge theym at her departynge. Thus this lady departed, and her sonne, and all her company, with syr John of Heynaulte. . . .[17]

The departure of Isabella for England on September 23, 1326 with her son, her lover, the English exiles and her mercenaries captured the imagination of many of Philippa's later biographers. In 1864, Agnes Strickland wrote:

> The youthful lovers [Edward and Philippa], after residing together in the palace of the count of Hainault at Valenciennes, for about a fortnight, were separated. Edward embarked, with his mother and John of Hainault, on the dangerous expedition of invading his unfortunate father's kingdom, while his beloved was left in a state of uncertainty whether the exigencies of the state and the caprice of relatives would ultimately permit to be joined the hands of those whose hearts had already elected each other.[18]

It is evident that Isabella and Mortimer were determined to destroy the Despensers and if necessary, to remove the king himself by force. Edward II found himself without

sufficient support to resist the rebels, and she fled to the west country with the Despensers. The king and his favourites were captured, however, and the rebels dealt the latter quick justice. The king remained imprisoned in Kennilworth castle.

The rebels were now resolved to depose the king. An assembly which called itself a parliament and which included representatives of the knights of the shires and the boroughs, together with those of the Cinque ports, the royal lands in Wales, and the citizens of London, met in Westminister Hall on January 7, 1327. The young prince was chosen king, and the Articles of Deposition were read. Edward II was accused of incompetence, and a deputation was sent to Kennilworth to demand his abdication. Edward yielded to the pressure which was increased by threats that his children might be repudiated along with their father if compliance was not forthcoming.

Although the rebels promised that Edward would be maintained in all proper state, it was only a matter of months before the deposed king was murdered in Berkeley castle. Meanwhile, on January 24, the accession of Edward III was proclaimed, and the new reign was held to begin on the following day.[19] Edward, who at this time was fourteen years old, was knighted and crowned in Westminster Abbey on February 1.[20] Because the king was so young, a regency council headed by Henry of Lancaster was formed. Mortimer was not a member of the regency council, but his

interests were well served by the presence there of his adherents, the bishops of Ely and Hereford, as chancellor and treasurer respectively, and Sir Oliver Ingham and Sir Simon Bereford.[21] In actual fact, despite the regency council, it was Isabella and Mortimer who governed the realm. The new government was not popular.

Once Edward was seated firmly on the throne, it was possible to consider the problem of his marriage. On March 30, 1327, the young king officially in his own name and that of his council, sent an embassy to Hainault[22] asking that the

> . . . yong kyng of Ingland myght have in marriage one of the erles doughters of Heynault . . . named Phylyp; for the kyng and all the nobles of the realme had rather have her than any other lady for the love of hym.[23]

According to Froissart, the count of Hainault

> . . . honorably receved them and made them suche chere that it were over long here to reherse; and whan they had shewed the content of theyr message, the erle said Sirs, I thanke greatly the kyng your prynce, and the quene his mother, and all other lordes of Ingland, syth they have sent suche sufficient personages as ye be, to do me suche honor as to treat for the mariage to which requeste, I am well agreed, with the whiche answer these ambassadours were right well content.[24]

It was necessary to obtain papal consent for this marriage, because Edward and Philippa were related within the prohibited degrees. Ambassadors were accordingly sent to the pope who not only consented to the union, but graciously feasted the delegation.[25] The company returned to Valenciennes where the marriage agreement was concluded and "there this princesse was maryed, by a sufficient procuration

brought fro the kyng of Englande."[26] After the customary feasting and rejoicing, Philippa, provided with "all thyngis honorable, that belonged to suche a lady who shuld be quene of Inglande,"[27] proceded to Wissant where she embarked for Dover.

Upon her arrival in England, she was conducted to London by her uncle and a great procession of clergy, and "there was made great feast, and many nobles of Ingland and the quene was crowned and there was also great justes, tourneys, daunsyng, carolyng, and great feastis every day; the which endured the space of iii weekis."[28] The mayor and aldermen of the city presented Philippa with a service of plate worth three hundred pounds as a marriage gift.[29] Without a doubt, the occasion was a splendid one, and the city must have been busy with an abundance of spectacle, pagentry, color, and noise. The young king was well liked and the marriage was a popular one. Hainault was a small but wealthy and important county in the Low Countries. The alliance was favourable economically because an advantageous commercial treaty had been concluded between England and the Low Countries about the same time as the marriage negotiations had been taking place.[30] It was hoped that this commercial alliance would help fill the coffers of the exchequer which were suffering from the strains imposed upon it by the civil war and the Scottish expeditions. Strickland suggests that the sumptuous gift of plate was prompted by the gratitude of the citizens for this treaty.[31] Strategically, this

alliance was favourable too, because it gave England a valuable ally on the continent.

Although there is every reason to believe Froissart's assertion that Philippa and her company were warmly received, he errs when he states that she was crowned in London at this time. Philippa was not crowned until 1330, as the indenture reveals. By custom, she should have been crowned much earlier than this.[32] One writer, F. George Kay suggests that her coronation was deliberately delayed because Isabella wished to remain the only annointed queen in England.[33]

Edward was campaigning in the north with his army, and therefore, Philippa did not remain long in London. She proceeded to York under the escort of John Bohun, earl of Hereford and Essex. Edward met his bride at York and the formal wedding took place in the Minister on January 24, 1328.[34] The ceremony was highlighted by the grand entrance of a hundred Scottish nobles who had come to conclude a peace agreement with England.[35] The royal council and parliament also met at York at this time, and "the flower of the English nobility, then in arms, were assembled, round the young king and his bride."[36]

Edward and Philippa remained in the north until a final peace had been made with the Scots. By June, the couple were settled at Woodstock near Oxford, the site of a royal palace since Anglo-Saxon times. Woodstock was a favorite residence of English kings, and presumably Philippa

had a fondness for it too, because it became one of her chief dwelling places.[37] According to tradition, Henry II had greatly enlarged the palace during his reign for his mistress Rosamund Clifford. It is said that it was enclosed by a high wall and included a park with a menagerie.[38]

The English archives, according to Strickland, reveal nothing about Philippa's marriage portion. Some, and perhaps all of it, had been spent by Isabella to overthrow Edward II. The queen mother also possessed Philippa's dower lands. However, on May 15, 1328, at Northampton, Edward promised to assign lands to the value of £15,000 for the dowry of his wife within one year.[39] These lands included the old Saxon stronghold of Kyngeborough on the Isle of Sheppy. Edward pulled down the ruins and built a new residence there for his wife, naming it appropriately, Queenborough.[40]

Once Philippa's household was settled, most of her Flemish friends and attendants, as well as her uncle, Sir John of Hainault, returned to the continent. The latter was well rewarded for his services.[41] No doubt there was widespread relief at the departure of the Hainaulters, especially the mercenary forces brought by Sir John, who, writes McKisack in The Fourteenth Century, "after the manner of their kind were already beginning to prove an embarrassment to those who had hired them."[42] A brawl had lately taken place between them and the citizens of York.

It is interesting, though unprofitable, to speculate

about the relations between Philippa and the queen mother. F. George Kay, in his biography of Alice Perrers, Lady of the Sun, states on an authority which he fails to name, that Philippa was "coldly ignored by the older woman now that the Hainaults could be of no further use," and that she "endured innumerable slights, including pointed comments on the fact that there was only one annointed queen of England: Isabella."[43] Philippa and Isabella perhaps saw very little of each other.

The young king remained under his mother's tutelage until 1330 while the new government grew increasingly unpopular. Both Henry of Lancaster and the earl of Kent, the late king's brother, became involved in rebellions against the regime. Lancaster was heavily fined, but Kent was executed for treason. It was even reported that miracles were occurring at Edward II's tomb, thereby proving him a martyr. Yet it was not until October 1330, that the king, supported by a group of young nobles, his guardian, Henry of Lancaster, members of the royal household, and the encouragement of the pope, with whom Edward had been in secret correspondence for some time, made a successful bid for independence. Mortimer was executed, and Isabella was honourably retired.[44]

Edward III now began to rule as well as reign. Only a few months earlier, his young wife had given birth to their first child, Edward of Woodstock, later called the Black Prince.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER I

[1]From G. G. Coulton, Chaucer and His England (New York: Russell and Russell, 1957), p. 180. Coulton footnotes Buchon's edition of Froissart's Chronicles, i, 12, 34; and Luce's edition, i, 284-287.

[2]Referring to this document in his book, Chaucer and His England, Coulton writes that the "entry . . . has so far as I know, been strangely overlooked hitherto by historians" (p. 181).

[3]Ibid., pp. 181-82.

[4]F. C. Hingeston-Randolph, ed. and trans., The Register of Walter de Stapledon Bishop of Exeter (A.D. 1307-1326) (London: George Bell and Sons, 1892), p. 169.

[5]B. C. Hardy, Philippa of Hainault and Her Times (London: John Long, 1910), p. 32.

[6]S. Luce, ed., Chroniques de Froissart (Paris: Soc. de l'histoire de France, 1869-99), tome I, ii, p. 287.

[7]A. T. Bannister, ed. and trans., Registrum Ade de Orleton, Episcopi Herefordensis AD MCCCXVII-MCCCXXVII (London: Canterbury and York Society, MDCCCCVIII). Bannister, in his introduction to the register, refers to the visit of Orleton. According to Bannister, Orleton was sent to the papal court by Isabella and Mortimer to justify to the pope the revolution which deposed Edward II. In a footnote, Bannister adds, "The ostensible reason of the journey was to obtain the papal dispensation for the marriage of the king and Philippa of Hainault who were related in the third degree (n. 2, p. xlii)." Bannister continues:

> And so, on March 30, accompanied by Bartholowmew de Burgheresh knight, and Thomas de Asteley, clerk, Orleton started for Avignon. . . . The envoys went first to Valenciennes (and possibly to the French court also), reaching Avignon only on July 14.

[8]H. Ellis, trans., The Chronicle of John Hardyng (London: G. Woodfall, 1812), p. 317.

[9]This quotation is taken from Hardy, op. cit., p. 42. I was unable to find the same passage in Ellis' edition of Hardyng's chronicle.

[10]Ibid., p. 302.

[11]Ibid., p. 301.

[12]For the journey of Isabella to France, see F. D. Blackley, "Isabella and the Bishop of Exeter," in Essays in Medieval History Presented to Bertie Wilkinson, ed. by T. A. Sandquist and M. R. Powicke(University of Toronto Press, 1969), pp. 220-25.

[13]Sir John Bourchier Lord Berners, trans., The Chronicle of Froissart (London: David Nutt, 1901), vol. I, p. 28.

[14]Ibid., p. 29.

[15]Ibid., pp. 30-31.

[16]C.C.R., 1323-27, pp. 576-77. The date of the latter is June 19, 1326.

[17]Froissart (Berner's edition, op. cit.), vol. I, p. 64.

[18]A. Strickland, Lives of the Queens of England from the Norman Conquest (London: Bell and Daldy, 1864), p. 377.

[19]Foedera II, ii, p. 683.

[20]Ibid., II, ii, p. 684.

[21]M. McKisack, The Fourteenth Century (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 96.

[22]Hardy, op. cit., p. 40.

[23]Froissart (Berner's edition, op. cit.), vol. 1, p. 64.

[24]Ibid., vol. I, pp. 64-65.

[25]Ibid., vol. I, p. 65.

[26]Ibid.

[27]Ibid.

[28]Ibid.

[29]Strickland, op. cit., p. 379; Hardy, op. cit., p. 46.

[30]Ibid.

[31]Strickland, op. cit., p. 379.

[32]P. E. Schramm, A History of the English Coronation (Oxford: 1937), trans. by Leopold G. Wickham Legg, p. 60, states that it was a fairly well established custom by the fourteenth century for the queen to be crowned at the same time as the king, or immediately after her marriage, should it occur some time after his coronation.

[33]F. George Kay, Lady of the Sun (London: Fredrick Muller, 1966), p. 54.

[34]F. M. Powicke and E. B. Fryde, eds., Handbook of British Chronology (London: The Royal Historical Society, 1961), p. 36.

[35]Strickland, op. cit., p. 380; Hardy, op. cit., p. 48.

[36]Strickland, op. cit., p. 380.

[37]Strickland, op. cit., p. 380; Hardy, op. cit., p. 50.

[38]Hardy, op. cit., p. 50.

[39]Foedera II, ii, p. 743.

[40]Hardy, op. cit., p. 49; Strickland, op. cit., p. 380.

[41]There is a list of grants and payments made to John of Hainault in Foedera II, ii, p. 686 ff. (February 7, 1327 - June 28, 1328).

[42]McKisack, op. cit., p. 98.

[43]Kay, op. cit., pp. 100-102.

[44]McKisack, op. cit., pp. 100-102. It is generally held that the birth of his first child, a son, prompted Edward to assert himself.

CHAPTER II

THE ROYAL HOUSEHOLD AND THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE REALM

Some of the details of the coronation of Philippa, and of the materials provided for the birth of her eldest son, Edward of Woodstock, are revealed in P.R.O. E 101/385/12. This chapter is concerned with the relevant portions of the fourteenth century administrative system which produced the indenture. That administrative system was closely connected with the household of the king. Indeed, historians who have concentrated on the history of administration have shown that in western Europe, the medieval system of administration evolved out of the royal household. To trace the origins of the king's household and hence the beginnings of medieval administration, would demand a journey far into "the mists of time," for as one historian expressed it, "the history of the royal household begins with the history of kingship."[1] To look for the origins of permanent administrative institutions, S. B. Chrimes states:

> We must approach closer . . . to the king himself, and examine the arrangements made for meeting his domestic needs, which being continuous and permanent, provided a firm basis for organization--organization which, although primarily and originally intended for merely domestic purposes, could readily be utilized for what we should call public service. From among the domestic offices of the royal household were to spring the first rudimentary administrative organs of government.[2]

It is frequently stressed by historians that

medieval government was of a personal nature. As James Conway Davies phrases it, "the king with his court was not merely the center of the government; he was the whole government."[3] Thus the royal household played a most important part in the administration of the realm.

The king's domestic household, and that of the queen, was divided into numerous departments and offices, each with its own staff. The steward and treasurer of the household, or keeper of the wardrobe as he was also called, supervised the household. The heads of the various departments and offices accounted to the steward and the keeper at the end of each day for all the materials which pertained to their offices, including all that was received and issued. According to the various household ordinances which were promulgated in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, it was to be regarded as a punishable offence if the responsible person of a department or office failed to render account. Defaulting officers were not only reprimanded, but they could also be deprived of their wages and clothing allowances, or even dismissed, depending upon the number of times they had committed the offence.[4] The daily accounts, summarized in a household book, were presented for audit at the exchequer theoretically at the end of each regnal year. The departmental officials also had to submit at various times to the steward and the keeper, an account of the money receipts and expenses of their offices. Those whose accounts failed to balance, and who had a surplus of expenses, could be

imprisoned until the deficit had been made up out of their own means.[5]

The wardrobe of the king or queen, in theory, received its income from the exchequer. However, only a small part of this income was actually paid into the wardrobe in cash.[6] For example, in the thirteenth year of the reign of Edward II, out of £43,000 paid out by the exchequer, only just over £7,000 actually went into the coffers of the king's household.[7] A large part of the wardrobe's income was in the form of direct payments to wardrobe creditors by the exchequer.

In order for a creditor to receive payment other than directly from the household, it was necessary for him to produce some kind of authorization. He might receive wooden tallies or notched wooden sticks which functioned as receipts for goods or services received, and were redeemable for cash at the exchequer at a later date. This was the method which was sometimes used when the royal household was on the move, and no ready cash was available to pay for its expenses.[8] Perhaps more often, an indenture of assignment was drawn up on the sheriff of the county, or the mayor and bailiff of the town, who would be ordered to meet the tallies. The individual or individuals concerned would be able to deduct this sum from payments due to the king for farms or taxes, but the procedure was complicated.

The indenture of assignment was made in two parts, one of which remained with the wardrobe, while the other was

given by the creditor to the individual responsible for payment. Once payment was made, the latter part of the indenture was sent back to the wardrobe to be compared with the one already there. After the indenture was examined, and all was in order, a bill or wardrobe debenture was issued to the official who had paid the debt for the amount. He could present this bill to the exchequer to be used as cash in paying his own debts to the exchequer. As Charles Johnson points out, these wardrobe debentures were not limited to large transactions, for small debts might be discharged in this way too.[9] Probably William of London, Philippa's tailor, received much of his material through these means. J. H. Johnson states that it is "clear that the excequer had little control over the money which the wardrobe nominally received from it."[10]

The expenses of the numerous household offices varied greatly from time to time as did the total household expenditure. Expenses rose sharply of course at times of great feasts or festivals, or important occasions of state such as a coronation, wedding, knighting, or the birth of a child. The celebrations would entail added expense, and the influx of guests would require extra accommodation. The ranks of the household staff would be swollen as the occasion would demand still more individuals to perform the additional duties. Doubtless, the dual occasions of Philippa's coronation and the birth of her son in 1330 necessitated considerable additional expense in both her household

and that of her husband, as indicated by the contents of the indenture. A less happy event, such as a royal funeral, affected the household expenses too.[11]

The purely domestic departments of the royal household were responsible for feeding and lodging the king and his court, and for performing the related miscellaneous tasks. But fascinating as the purely domestic aspects of royal household departments may be, no discussion of their activities is necessary here. The indenture is concerned with expenses incurred on behalf of the queen by the great wardrobe for the fifth regnal year of Edward III. It is necessary, however, to consider what the great wardrobe was, and how it developed out of the royal household.

From the administrative point of view, the most important of the household offices was the wardrobe.[12] However, the wardrobe and its activities is a difficult subject to discuss, for it was at all times a flexible organization, easily adaptable to the needs of the moment, and sensitive to the desires of the king. It underwent many changes throughout its history.[13]

In the early Middle Ages, both in England and on the Continent, the wardrobe or garderoba was, as its name suggests and as it is today, a place to keep robes or articles of clothing. According to T. F. Tout, the great administrative historian and author of the six volume, Chapters in the Administrative History of Medieval England,

> More specifically it meant a small room attached, like a modern dressing room, to the camera or chamber, that is the sleeping apartment, and provided with the appliances for storing the garments and other domestic necessaries of the occupants of the adjacent bedroom. From the earliest times the wardrobe seems to have been in the closest relation to the chamber. Wardrobe and bedroom, garderoba and camera, were, to begin with, identical. In later times they were always very closely related, even when the progress of material civilization enabled a distinction to be made between the bedroom and the adjacent closet used as a store.[14]

Originally, the king was accustomed to keep his treasure close at hand, and the safest place for it was of course his chamber, for only his most trusted and intimate servants needed to enter there. From the chamber developed the treasury and the exchequer as the king's interests grew more complex. Manuscript illustrations indicate that medieval kings stored their valuables in chests kept beneath their beds, but valuables were also stored in a small room annexed to the chamber, the wardrobe. Thus as Tout states:

> Thus each one of the king's wardrobes easily became a treasury, the place of deposit not only of his rich robes of silk and fur, but of his jewels and ornaments, his store of coined money and bullion, his plate and costly furniture. In them also the king would put under sure keeping the ornaments of his chapel, his library of books of devotion, poems and romances of chivalry. There, too, he would deposit such records, charters, rolls and diplomatic documents as he required to keep handy for reference.[15]

The wardrobe developed gradually into an office or institution along the lines one would expect. Because the king's property was,

> liable to constant risks from robbery and fire, and the peripatetic habits of medieval life involved constant journeyings from place to place, during which the utmost vigilance was needed to protect the precious contents of the king's wardrobe and chamber from the perils to

> which it was constantly exposed. . . . the existence of the wardrobe and chamber required a staff of officers to carry them about the country and protect them.[16]

To continue in Tout's words:

> This staff had to include not only carters and sumpters, guards and serjeants for menial service but also persons of responsibility and trust, who could rise superior to the temptations to which their office exposed them. Men so circumstanced would be sure to be in constant intercourse with the monarch, and if they were honest and able, they were certain, gradually to become his confidants and advisors. It followed from this that the existence of the wardrobe and chamber as places soon evolved their existences as institutions. . . . But the wardrobe was not in any full sense an institution till the early thirteenth century. It only existed as a place, and both as a place and an institution, so far as it was becoming one, it was subordinated to, and included in, the chamber.[17]

During the reign of king John, there was great growth in the importance of the king's wardrobe in England.[18] There is evidence of a staff composed of both humble servants and important officials to carry on wardrobe business. One Odo, clericus de garderoba in the years 1213 to 1215, was the official head of the wardrobe and perhaps he may be regarded as the first keeper or treasurer of the wardrobe, a position which was to become extremely important.[19] Documents were now executed in the wardrobe as well as stored there, and Odo's duties included the drafting and keeping of documents and records as well as the general supervision of the lesser personnel of the office. Before John's death, the wardrobe was already discharging many of the functions that had originally belonged to the chamber.[20] There was considerable overlapping in the activities of the two offices, but Tout states:

> This overlapping . . . in the joint performance of a common task was not at all unusual in the middle ages. No one had, in those days, the least regard for system or symmetry. . . .[21]

The wardrobe was on its way to becoming a separate organization independent of the chamber.

The chamber was eclipsed by the wardrobe in the reign of John's son, Henry III. Although the chamber was to enter its own period of importance in the next century, during Henry's reign, the wardrobe became "the chief and most conspicuous department of domestic finance" and "when household accounts begin they are accounts of the wardrobe, not of the chamber."[22] Tout believes that the wardrobe owed its new development to the fact that unlike the chamber, it was subordinate to the exchequer and depended upon the latter for a large part of its income. The wardrobe rendered its accounts directly to the exchequer.[23] There was yet another factor in wardrobe developments in this reign, however. During this reign, the chancery began to separate itself from the household and thus, "the wardrobe could . . . become the center of a curialist administration when the chancery had ceased to be a mere branch of the domestic establishment of the monarchy."[24]

The fact that the wardrobe was financed by a direct system of exchequer grants, or writs of liberate as they were called, had distinct advantages and affected its development. As Tout states:

> It had therefore an indefinitely expansible income in times of extraordinary expenditure, and its revenue

> could be spent at the discretion of the crown and its personal advisors. . . . The [wardrobe] machinery was new and elastic. . . . Its sphere could be contracted, as easily as it could be expanded.[25]

From lists of wardrobe expenses, some idea can be had of the varied activities of this department even at this period in its history. Even in the early years of Henry III's reign, the wardrobe was acting as a war office and even as an admiralty. It financed military expeditions both at home and abroad, and provided the necessary equipment. It became responsible for the whole finance of the king's household as well as its own expenses which were treated separately from the daily expenses of the household.[26] In fact, the wardrobe managed all the great extraordinary expenses including those of court festivities. It was on occasion a second treasury. In Henry's reign it gained its own seal, the privy seal, and the keepership of the wardrobe became an important office.[27]

Two other particularly important extensions of wardrobe activity that became evident in this reign were the establishment of a queen's wardrobe and the beginnings of a separate department within the king's wardrobe itself. This department was to become an important institution known as the "great wardrobe." The establishment of a queen's wardrobe following Henry's marriage in 1236 was a new "conscious" departure, while the appearance of the great wardrobe was the result of "the gradual growth within the wardrobe itself, and was due to the ever increasing

magnitude of wardrobe transactions and the need for a more complex organization to meet it."[28]

According to Tout, the earliest reference to the term, magna garderoba, appears in a writ close under the date February 7, 1253.[29] However, he states:

> Examination of still earlier documents proves that the thing was in existence some time before it receives its definitive name, and that, from the first year of the reign of Henry III, there was a special branch of the wardrobe, whose essential concern was the purchase and provision of such requisites for the household as could be stored for a considerable period.[30]

According to Tout, this department was probably called the "great wardrobe" "because of the bulkiness of the commodities with which it dealt, and not because it was an office of 'great' importance."[31]

> In short, "great" indicated the size, and not the dignity, of the office. Inattention to this circumstance has often led scholars of repute into loosely describing the wardrobe itself, which they knew to be the main thing, as the great wardrobe; and even to attributing to the great wardrobe the supreme place in the wardrobe system.[32]

The great wardrobe was primarily a storehouse for the court. Some of the articles it stored, as listed by Tout, were furniture, tapestry and hangings for rooms, carpets, wearing apparel, cloth, cloth of gold, satin, silk, velvet, furs, and so forth. The liberaciones robarum, or clothing allowances which members of medieval households were accustomed to receive, were dispensed from the great wardrobe. Other items which it provided were wax for candles and sealing purposes, and such preservable foodstuffs as spices, sugar, and dried fruit. In addition, it

procured drugs, saltpetre, and sulphur, "and other storeable goods of luxury and necessity."[33] The list of articles which were received by Philippa's tailor from William de la Zouche, clerk of Edward III's great wardrobe in 1330, according to the indenture, is itself a testament to the great variety of items handled by this department.

The functions of the great wardrobe grew along with the needs of the king and the general increasing complexity of medieval administration. The articles stored or handled by the great wardrobe increased in number and variety. The department became responsible for purchasing, storing, repairing and making plate and jewelry, arms and armour, tents, flags, saddles, harnesses, and so forth. It even came to be charged with providing gunpowder, lead, brass, and other materials for the making of ammunition, and artillery.[34] In the fourteenth century, however, the provision of arms and armour became the responsibility of a separate institution, the privy wardrobe, which had its headquarters in the Tower. Of course this helped to narrow the sphere of the great wardrobe's activity, but as Tout states, "it was only gradually that the great wardrobe ceased to be the factory and repairing shop of such articles as arms and armour, tents, and saddlery."[35]

The development of the great wardrobe seems to be closely associated with that of the wardrobe itself, for as the latter moved further and further away from its own origins as a storehouse and grew into an important

accounting, financial, and administrative organization, many of its older functions were shifted onto the great wardrobe. The great wardrobe even discharged some of the original functions of the chamber, but this is not really surprising, when it is recalled that the work of the wardrobe and the chamber was similar and often overlapped.

Much of the material handled by the great wardrobe was obtained by the normal methods of prisage and purveyance. The earliest existing wardrobe accounts reveal that special commissions were sometimes given to wardrobe clerks and various officers of the court to go to fairs to purchase cloth, wax, spices, and similar commodities for the king's use.[36] According to Tout, these commissions were the starting point of the great wardrobe as an organization.[37] The first of these special commissions about which anything is known, was accompanied by special powers to draw from the exchequer the money needed for these purchases and their transport. There seems to have been a distinction made between these sums and those which the keepers of the wardrobe customarily received from the exchequer. Thus,

> The buyers of cloth [or other articles] for the king were not, then, wholly dependent on the wardrobe for supplies; they had finances as well as an embryo organization of their own.[38]

It is to be expected that as time went on, these commissions became more specific. According to Tout, one of the agents was nearly always the king's tailor because he had "a peculiarly intimate interest in the purchases."[39]

This is of particular interest to this thesis because of its concern with Philippa's Willelmus de London' cissor. The king's tailor was likely to be a man of substance, if Henry III's tailor, William may serve as an example. This William, associated with the first of these commissions about which anything is known, held lands of the king's gift, "by rendering yearly at Christmas the scissors due from the said William," was a benefactor of the Friars Minor of London and keeper of the king's mint at Canterbury. He was also described as "the king's serjeant."[40] Similarly, the queen's tailor was likely to be an important individual. According to Tout, the records show that Philippa's tailor was a man of substance too. He was also a king's sergent and married a Surrey heiress.[41]

The internal organization of the great wardrobe grew more complex as it gradually attained a status of its own in the royal household. Before the end of Henry III's reign, the keepership of the great wardrobe had become an office of some significance. The office of emptor et provisor regis had "crystallized into a definite shape."[42] The great wardrobe was even affected by Edward I's Household Ordinance of 1279. Some space in this document is devoted to the department, and to quote Tout, "the effect of these elaborate provisions was to give the great wardrobe a complete staff, a definite sphere, and a responsible head."[43] It states that the treasurer or keeper of the wardrobe, the stewards, and other members of the king's council should be made

responsible for the annual accounts of the great wardrobe. The great wardrobe accounts are to be given to the exchequer as part of the keeper's own account. The keeper of the wardrobe is to appoint "un certein hom fere achater a treis feires par an totes les choses ka partenent a la graunt garderobe e cedlui seit gardein de al graunt garderobe . . .". Le gardein de la graunt garderobe" is to be specifically sworn to the king for this business and the usher of the wardrobe is to be his supervisor or controller. The latter is also to view the purchases and liveries and testify at the account. Furthermore, "e leuantdit gardein rens nachate ne livere a nulle sans especial comandement le tresorer, e ceo en la presence le contreroudlur; e sil le fet, rens ne li seit alue."[44]

Although according to the ordinance, the keeper of the great wardrobe was to be appointed by the keeper of the wardrobe, this in fact did not happen. The keeper of the great wardrobe was appointed by letters patent. The reason for this was that in the performance of his duties, the keeper often had to buy or seize goods from those who were unwilling to part with them. Thus, "some constraining authority, which no man could resist, was therefore desireable."[45] Eventually even the craftsmen working in the great wardrobe were appointed in this way.[46]

The household and exchequer reforms between 1318 and 1324 defined more precisely the duties and activities of the great wardrobe and its officers, and its position in the

household. The keeper of the great wardrobe was required to deliver to the household by indenture the materials in his keeping, specifying very carefully their particulars and prices. This measure was intended to avoid waste and improper spending.[47] The keeper of the great wardrobe was subordinate to the steward and the treasurer, and indeed the department itself was to continue to be dependent on the wardrobe. The keeper of the great wardrobe did, however, have a permanent place in wardrobe hierarchy. He was assigned a rank just below that of the keeper of the privy seal. Other regulations in the provisions, however, in effect neutralized this subordination of the keeper and his department.[48]

The position of the keeper of the great wardrobe did not really improve in the way that the position of other officials in the system tended to do. None the less, his position must have altered somewhat, for as Tout states:

> the association of the great wardrobe with the household . . . became steadily less and less, until . . . The department and its keeper were outside the household for nearly all purposes.[49]

The keeper of the great wardrobe had absolute control over the subordinates of his department. They were responsible to him "for all things issuing from their offices." They were to pay careful attention to quantities and prices and "the indentures testifying to these transactions were to be shown four times a year to the treasurer of the wardrobe, so that he could certify the condition of the office of

the great wardrobe."[50] According to the second Household Ordinance of York of 1323, the keeper was to conduct a review of his office three times a year.

It was the ordinance of 1324 which had a real effect on the great wardrobe. This was the ordinance which "completed the reorganization of the household,"[51] and so it can be said that the year 1324 marked both a great turning point in the history of the great wardrobe and the end of its formative period. As part of the movement to speed up and render more efficient wardrobe accounting, the great wardrobe was completely separated from the wardrobe. The keeper of the wardrobe no longer had to render to the exchequer foreign accounts, among which had been included great wardrobe accounts, "whereof he could have no knowledge nor discover their defects."[52] In sum,

> all monies for great wardrobe purveyances were to be furnished from the exchequer under authority of royal warrants. Most important of all, the clerk of the great wardrobe was empowered to account directly to the exchequer for the future, leaving the keeper of the wardrobe answerable only for such goods as he might have received by indenture from the clerk of the great wardrobe for the use of the household.[53]

This quotation clearly shows the nature of the indenture with which this thesis is concerned.

Tout states that "the power gained by the great wardrobe in its emancipation from wardrobe control naturally enhanced the dignity of its keeper, though this was not immediately obvious."[54]

The first keeper under the new system and many of

his successors were what Tout refers to as "mediocre men . . . who never rose above a respectable official level and had no prospects outside their office."[55] However, "before long there were others alternating with them, to whom the great wardrobe was only a stepping stone in a career of considerable distinction."[56] Several of the keepers of the great wardrobe under Edward III received high preferment in both the state and the church. William de la Zouche, the keeper of the great wardrobe named in the indenture, was one such individual.

Zouche had an exciting and varied career.[57] He is thought to have been a younger son of William de la Zouche, first baron Zouche of Harringworth in Northamptonshire. The year of his birth is not certain. He attended university, possibly Oxford,[58] and received a M.A. and B.C.L. (Bachelor of Civil Law). Zouche became one of the king's clerks or chaplains at the beginning of Edward III's reign. He was made keeper of the great wardrobe on January 26, 1329,[59] and held this post until July 15, 1334. He was controller of the wardrobe from July 31, 1334 to April 1, 1335, keeper of the privy seal from 1335 to 1337, and treaurer of the exchequer from March 24, 1337 to March 10, 1338. He was dismissed from the latter post because he could not provide sufficient funds for the king's needs, and thus, lost Edward's favour. On December 16 of the same year, however, he was appointed treasurer of England. During the next two years, his numerous responsibilities toward the king necessitated

that he appoint a deputy on more than one occasion, and on May 2, 1340, he was definitely relieved of his office.[60]

In the meantime, various ecclesiastical preferments had been bestowed on him.[61] On May 2, 1340, an election was held to fill the vacant archbishopric of York. Zouche received the majority of chapter votes, but his rival, William de Kildesby keeper of the privy seal, hotly contested the election with the king's support. The dispute was carried to the papal curia, but no settlement was reached for two years. The contest was finally settled by means of an annulment of the first election and a papal provision of Zouche to the archbishopric.[62] On July 6, 1342, Zouche was consecrated at Avignon, and he returned to England the following month. He and the king were reconciled, and royal letters of protection were granted in August and September, following his arrival in England. He was enthroned on December 8, 1342.[63]

Barring this dispute concerning the archiepiscopal election, in the course of which the king accused Zouche of having a fraudulent and deceitful character, mishandling funds while treasurer, disobedience, and even murder, Zouche remained on cordial terms with Edward III for most of his career. Although his early sympathies tended toward the court party, he became more baronial in his outlook as time went on.[64] He acted as the king's messenger and confidant on many occasions, and he accompanied Edward abroad at least twice. As a great officer of state, he naturally played an

important part in the politics of the period. He was of great help to Edward in the latter's dealings with the Scots. A militant archbishop, he was appointed warden of the Scottish march in 1346, and played a notable role in the victory of Neville's Cross in the same year. His action in the battle was warmly praised by the king, and he was regarded as a hero by the northern clergy.[65] He quarrelled with the pope between 1349 and 1352 over the succession to the deanery of York, and he was excommunicated for his opposition. His excommunication was suspended two months before his death on July 19, 1352.[66]

The great wardrobe officials, apart from the keeper himself, can be divided into two categories--the office staff, and the tradesmen and craftsmen who were employed in the great wardrobe workshops.[67] The latter group contained the largest number of individuals. Not all the craftsmen and tradesmen who received wages were permanently attached to the great wardrobe. Some worked at their own establishments, more or less independently, and were only engaged when the need arose. Others were actually known as the king's craftsmen, and had workrooms and lodgings set apart for their use.[68]

Although the natural tendency was for the great wardrobe to follow the king as part of his household, there was at the same time the need for at least a part of it to remain stationary. This need was engendered by the nature of some of its activities, such as repair and manufacture,

and also by the sheer bulkiness of some of the commodities it stored. The great wardrobe and its keeper often accompanied the king on his journeys abroad, and Zouche himself spent some time overseas with his master while he was keeper of the great wardrobe. The keepers of the great wardrobe often made short journeys to the continent to obtain cloth for the great wardrobe.[69] In Edward III's reign, the whole department went abroad when war broke out with France, and at one point, from 1338-1339, Antwerp was its headquarters. Goods were also stored at various convenient depots, usually at sea ports on both sides of the Channel. None the less, from the reign of Edward I on, there was a permanent storehouse and factory in London in the Tower connected with the great wardrobe, with a minimum staff of one clerk and one yeoman.[70] According to Tout, "by the end of the reign, the great wardrobe was so far differentiated from the household that it needed more elaborate accommodation of its own."[71] The Tower was still used for storage, particularly for arms and armour, but cloth and spices were stored in houses in London rented for the purpose. These houses also functioned as workshops and even lodgings for great wardrobe staff. This movement of a part of the great wardrobe out of the Tower can be seen as a recognition of the existence of the privy wardrobe, the wardrobe of arms and armour, as a department in its own right.

The ultimate establishment of the great wardrobe in a city home, which occurred in the reign of Edward III,

Tout states

> . . . meant, for the most practical purposes the withdrawal of the office out of court. From being part of the household it became a small self-contained government office.[72]

Although the history of the great wardrobe and its main activities have been discussed here, little has been said about the way in which the materials handled by this department were actually distributed. The process of distribution was complex, as Tout shows:

> Did the king make his wife a present of a gown, an elaborate series of writs and indentures had to be drafted. No livery was complete until an indenture had been drawn up between the keeper of the wardrobe and the keeper of the great wardrobe, testifying the names of the recipients and the amount of robes provided for each. When the transactions were completed, a general list was compiled by the keeper of the great wardrobe and forwarded to the wardrobe or to the exchequer. A counter-roll of the transactions was also drawn up by the controller and similarly dispatched. The cost of carriage from the great wardrobe office to the places where the king held his court and had need of the goods is also regularly recorded in the great wardrobe accounts.[73]

Tout also states:

> The process by which great wardrobe articles were distributed is abundantly illustrated by the files of miscellaneous documents preserved in the exchequer accounts as "documents subsidiary to the accounts of the great wardrobe" . . . a large number are letters of privy seal in which the king authorized the keeper of the great wardrobe to release his wares. . . . Many of the mandates were from the keeper of the wardrobe, directing the clerk of the great wardrobe to issue articles for the service of the court, pieces of wax, loaves of sugar, cloth, fruit, spices, and so on. Such orders were authenticated by a small red seal, apparently that of the keeper, and belonging to the class of warrants called "bills of the wardrobe." When the recipient of the goods was an individual, he generally gave the keeper of the great wardrobe a receipt, sealed with his personal seal.[74]

Thus, William of London, queen Philippa's tailor, probably gave William de la Zouche, clerk of the great wardrobe, a receipt, or perhaps several, for the goods listed in the indenture.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER II

[1]L. M. Larson, The King's Household in England before the Norman Conquest (Wisconsin: 1904), p. 76. Quoted by S. B. Chrimes in his work, An Introduction to the Administrative History of Medieval England (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1952), p. 2.

[2]S. B. Chrimes, op. cit., p. 3.

[3]James Conway Davies, The Baronial Opposition to Edward II, Its Character and Policy--A Study in Administrative History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1918), p. 16.

[4]J. H. Johnson, "The King's Wardrobe and Household in the Fourteenth Century," The English Government at Work, 1327-1336, edited by J. F. Willard and W. A. Morris (Cambridge, Mass.: The Medieval Academy of America, 1940), vol. I, pp. 218-219.

[5]Ibid., p. 220.

[6]J. H. Johnson, "The System of Account in the Wardrobe of Edward II," Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, fourth series, XII (1929), p. 77.

[7]Ibid.

[8]C. Johnson, "The System of Account in the Wardrobe of Edward I," Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, fourth series, VI (1923), p. 55.

[9]Ibid., p. 56.

[10]J. H. Johnson, "Edward II," p. 79.

[11]For example, a study of the wardrobe account for the last year of the reign of Edward III made by John Nielsen, reveals that the expenses of the various departments of the household rose sharply and the total amount of money issued in wages to the household members increased greatly at the time of that monarch's death and remained high until the funeral preparations were completed. The household of the dead king continued to function at a reduced level after the funeral until its affairs were concluded. For further details, see Nielsen's study,

"The Wardrobe Account of Richard of Beverley for the Fifty-first Year of the Reign of King Edward III of England," (unpublished M.A. thesis, the University of Alberta, 1968).

[12]J. H. Johnson, "The King's Wardrobe and Household in the Fourteenth Century," p. 221.

[13]C. Johnson, "Edward I," p. 50.

[14]T. F. Tout, Chapters in the Administrative History of Medieval England (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1937. Reprinted, 1967), 6 vols. vol. I, pp. 67-68.

[15]Ibid., p. 69.

[16]Ibid.

[17]Ibid.

[18]Ibid., p. 163.

[19]Ibid., p. 168.

[20]Ibid.

[21]Ibid.

[22]Ibid., p. 179.

[23]Ibid.

[24]Ibid., p. 181.

[25]Ibid., p. 232.

[26]Ibid., p. 195.

[27]Ibid., p. 228.

[28]Ibid., p. 252.

[29]Ibid., vol. IV, p. 349.

[30]Ibid.

[31]Ibid., pp. 349-50.

[32]Ibid., p. 350.

[33]Ibid., pp. 351-52.

[34]Ibid., p. 352.

[35]Ibid., p. 353

[36]Ibid., p. 354; Chrimes, op. cit., p. 106.

[37]Tout, op. cit., vol. IV, p. 355.

[38]Ibid.

[39]Ibid.

[40]Ibid., pp. 355-56.

[41]Ibid., p. 389, n. 5.

[42]Ibid., p. 364.

[43]Ibid., p. 370. The document, written in French, is printed in French by Tout in Chapters, vol. II, pp. 161-63.

[44]Tout, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 161-63.

[45]Ibid., vol. IV, p. 373.

[46]Ibid., p. 374.

[47]Ibid., p. 376.

[48]Ibid.

[49]Ibid., p. 378.

[50]Ibid.

[51]Ibid., pp. 378-79.

[52]Ibid., p. 379.

[53]Ibid.

[54]Ibid., p. 380.

[55]Ibid.

[56]Ibid., pp. 380-81.

[57]D.N.B., S.V. "la Zouche," by T. F. Tout, Vol. XXI, pp. 1335-1338; Tout, op. cit., especially vol. iv, p. 381 n. 5; John Le Neve, Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1300-1341. vol. iv, Northern Province. Compiled by B. Jones (London: University of London Institute of Historical Research, 1963), p. 3. Hereafter cited as Fasti; A. B. Emden, A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A. D. 1500 (Oxford: 1958), Vol. II, pp. 1115-1116.

[58]Emden, op. cit., believes that Zouche may have received his degrees from Oxford. According to Emden, Zouche was granted a license to study at a university on September 29, 1320, and on September 13, 1324, he was granted license to study at a university for two years (p. 115). The authorities consulted regarding Zouche's life and career give his degrees, but Emden is the only one to suggest which university may have granted them.

[59]Tout, op. cit., vol. IV, p. 381 n. 5. D.N.B., (S.V. "la Zouche," p. 1335) gives a different date for this appointment. It states:

> On 16 September 1330 he was appointed clerk and purveyor of the great wardrobe. A little later he is called keeper of the great wardrobe.

[60]Tout, op. cit., vol. IV, p. 381 n. 5.; D.N.B. pp. 1335-1337; Emden, op. cit., pp. 1115-1116; Fasti, p. 3.

[61]Emden, op. cit., pp. 1115-1116; D.N.B. pp. 1335-1337.

[62]For further details of the dispute, see W. H. Bliss, ed., Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland. Papal Letters, vol. II, A.D. 1305-1342 (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1895), pp. 547, 549, 550, 578; Emden, op. cit., p. 1116; D.N.B., p. 1336.

[63]Fasti, p. 3.

[64]Tout, op. cit., vol. IV, p. 44.

[65]D.N.B., p. 1337.

[66]W. H. Bliss and C. Johnson, eds., Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland. Papal Letters, vol. III A.D. 1342-1362 (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1897), p. 434.

[67]Tout, op. cit., vol. IV., p. 386.

[68]Ibid.

[69]Ibid., p. 396.

[70]Ibid., p. 397.

[71]Ibid., p. 398.

[72]Ibid., pp. 406-407.

[73]Ibid., pp. 414-15.

[74]Ibid., p. 413.

CHAPTER III

THE CORONATION AND CHURCHING OF QUEEN PHILIPPA

The year 1330 was an eventful one for Philippa. Her coronation took place in February, the birth of her first child, a son, in June and, in October, the overthrow of the unpopular regime of Isabella and Mortimer. The indenture gives us some information on the first two of these occasions. It includes as well details of things required for other occasions in the same year, such as the festivals of Easter, Pentecost, All Saints and Christmas.

It is not possible to know with any certainty what actually moved Edward, and perhaps more important, the queen mother, to consider the delayed coronation of Philippa when they did, or when they began to make the necessary preparations. Perhaps her coronation became urgent when it became known that she was with child, and that knowledge itself may have provided the necessary impetus. The child, especially if it was to be a boy, and hence heir to the kingdom, should, if possible, be born of parents both of whom had been properly consecrated.

There is some confusion about the date of Philippa's coronation. A document preserved in Foedera[1], and noted in the Calendar of the Close Rolls,[2] under the date, February 28, 1330 begins as follows:

> To Bartholowmew de Burghersh, constable of Dover Castle and warden of the Cinque Ports or to him who supplies his place. Order to summon the barons of the Cinque Ports to be present at the solemnities of the coronation of Queen Philippa to do the duties (deveria) that they have been wont to do at other coronations, as the King has ordained that Queen Philippa shall be crowned at Westminster on Sunday before St. Peter in Cathedra next.[3]

It is noted in the syllabus of Rymer's Foedera[4] that the Sunday before the feast of St. Peter in Cathedra would have been the eighteenth of February, and therefore, the date of the document must be wrong, since the order would not have been sent out after the event.

Other sources give different dates for Philippa's coronation. Thomas of Walsingham, a monk of St. Alban's who wrote his Chronica Historia Anglicana from about 1377-1392, states that Philippa was crowned on Dominica Quadragesimae.[5] In 1330, Quadragesimae Sunday was February 25.[6] The Dictionary of National Bigraphy gives the date of her coronation as March 4, as does F. George Kay in his biography of Alice Perrers, Edward's mistress.[7] Agnes Strickland and B. C. Hardy, two of Philippa's biographers, refer to the document already discussed, making no note of its incorrect date. Both authors believe that in Cathedra means, "in the Cathedral of Westminster," failing to realize that in Cathedra is properly part of the name of the feast day.[8] Strickland does not offer a suggestion as to the actual date of the coronation, but Hardy reaches a rather odd compromise. According to Hardy, the ceremony took place on "March 4, Quinquagesima Sunday."[9]

However, Quinquagesima Sunday in 1330 was in fact, February 18. Yet Hardy does refer to a certain interesting private letter in the register of John de Grandisson, bishop of Exeter from 1327-1369. The letter, written by the bishop himself, asks the king to excuse him from attending the coronation. The letter reads as follows:

> Domino Regi, pro excusacione Domini de non veniendo ad Coronacionem Domine Philippe, Regine,--Treshautisme, etc., ut supra,--vous piese entendre que nous rescieumes vos Letres, en nostre Manoir de Chuddeleghe, par la main R. Blakherl, currur, le Dimange le xj jour de moys de Feverer. En les queles vous nous avez comaunde destre a Londres le Dimange prochein suant, a la Coronement nostre treschere Dame, Dame Phelippe, Royne Dengleterre, vostre Compaigne. La quele chose nous serroms leez de faire si nous ussoms estes par temps garny; qar grant honor y serroit a nous. Mais, purceo qu ceo serroit inpossible a nous pur briefte du temps, et pur le chemyn quest si longe et si parceo pur escusees, etc. (1329-30).10

This letter helps to establish firmly the date of Philippa's coronation as February 18, 1330. The bishop reports that he received the letters on Sunday, February 11, commanding his presence at the coronation which is to be held the next Sunday at Westminster. The next Sunday was, of course, February 18.

Thus it was Saturday, February 17, when, according to the indenture, Philippa "equitabat de Turri London usque Westm' in vigilia diei coronacionis sue." The indenture lists the garments Philippa wore when she rode to Westminster, the site of the royal palace and the Abbey, on the eve of her coronation. She was dressed in a tunic made of nine and a half ells of green velvet cloth, a

cloak made of three cloths of gold "diapered with the best red,"[11] two furs prepared of six hundred and eighty skins of miniver, one hood prepared of sixty skins, and another prepared of thirty-two skins. She had lunch ("prandebat") at Westminster in a robe of three garments, or parts, made of seven cloths of gold diapered with the best green, a fur prepared of three hundred and forty skins, a lining of miniver prepared of four hundred and eighty-one skins, and a hood prepared of thirty-two skins.

The clothing Philippa wore on the day of her coronation is also given in the indenture. At the ceremony itself, "in quibus prefata regina ungebatur et coronabatur ante sumum altare in Ecclesia Westm'," Philippa wore a lined tunic and a lined cloak made of six cloths of red and gray ("glauco") samite, a very rich silk material often interwoven with gold thread.[12] After the ceremony, assuming that the indenture lists her clothing in the order in which she wore the articles, it seems that Philippa had lunch ("prandebat") in a tunic and a cloak made of three cloths of gold diapered with the best purple, and a lining of miniver prepared of four hundred and eighty-one skins. Later, on the same day, she dined ("cenebat") in a robe of three garments made of seven cloths of gold diapered with the best red, a fur of miniver prepared of three hundred and forty skins, a lining of miniver prepared of four hundred and eighty-one skins, and a hood prepared of thirty-two skins. The day after her coronation, Philippa

wore a robe of four garments made of eight cloths of the best gold "raffatus,"[13] two furs prepared of three hundred and forty skins, a lining prepared of four hundred and eighty-one skins, and two hoods, each prepared of forty skins. This robe, and all those used in connection with the coronation, were trimmed with a total of twenty ermine skins. The gown in which Philippa was actually crowned and annointed, however, was probably less elaborate than the others and untrimmed, for the ceremony included a partial stripping and the pouring of holy oil over her head and breast.

A coronation was as much an elaborate and spectacular affair in the Middle Ages as it is now. A coronation in the fourteenth century must have been a splendid occasion, for in many ways, it was one of England's most magnificent centuries. It was truly an age of chivalry and romance, when nearly every noble fancied himself as one of king Arthur's knights, and similarly, the ladies saw themselves as the beautiful Guinivere, one of her ladies, or some other fair damsel in the popular romantic literature of the day. The pomp and display and the magnificence of adornment is evident in Chaucer's works, the anonymous Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, and even Langland's querulous Piers Plowman, to give only a few examples from the considerable body of existing contemporary literature. Although Philippa's garments can not be reconstructed as they actually were, the materials which went into their creation,

as listed in the indenture, indicate that Philippa would not have been out of tune with the spirit of her age on her coronation day.

Surprisingly, very little serious work has appeared on coronations, particularly on those of the queens consort, about which very little seems to be known. The modern English coronation service descends directly from the tenth century coronation of king Edgar at Bath. This is not the first recorded coronation in Anglo-Saxon England, however, and as it is well known, coronation rites themselves are very ancient. The conquest of England by William, duke of Normandy, brought no essential change in the Anglo-Saxon rite. This rite contained an ordo for the queen, but it was seldom, if ever, used. William had his wife Matilda, duly consecrated, as were all future queen consorts, and the custom developed that consecration should take place as soon as possible. England adopted the continental idea that the queen consort shared the king's power. To quote P. E. Schramm:

> She has been placed by God as Queen among the people (constituit reginam in popolo); he has made her a sharer in the royal power (regalis imperii . . . esse participem), and the English people are to rejoice in being governed by the power of the Prince and by the ability and virtue of the Queen (laetetur gens Anglicana domini imperio regenda et reginae virtutis providentia gubernanda).[14]

Yet the historical circumstances were such that it was not until 1154, and perhaps 1274, that the consort was crowned on the same occasion as the king.[15] It was necessary until

then to have a separate coronation to make the queen *regalis imperii participem*.[16] Schramm observes that:

> We can see the legal consequences of this in constitutional history. The Queen obtains her own officials, property, and even revenue; She issues charters, and, if need be, she can even take over the regency. Provided her personality is strong enough, she can play a part in history.[17]

By the middle of the thirteenth century, certain rules and principles had been established for the coronation of the king and queen. The *ordo* had undergone some revisions, the most important of which were that the "people" were asked to "confirm" the king's "election" at the ceremony, and no longer chrism but a "less noble oil" was used for consecration.[18] The latter innovation had come about in response to pressure from the Church, and was designed to make the consecration of a king less like that of a bishop. The essential parts of the Anglo-Saxon *ordo* were preserved, however, and consecration consisted of annointing, investiture with regalia, and enthronement.[19] The status of the queen was now much greater than it had been in the Anglo-Saxon period, and for this reason, greater significance was attached to her coronation.[20] By the thirteenth century, the only place where the king and queen could be crowned was Westminster, and the only person entitled to crown the king and queen was the archbishop of Canterbury.[21] If it should happen that the see was vacant, or that the archbishop for some reason was prevented from performing the rite, one of his suffragans could take his

place. Contrary to what one might expect, the archbishop of York could not do the honours. This stipulation no doubt developed from the desire to avoid possible confusion and controversy, for the struggle for the primacy between the two archbishoprics had, in the not too distant past, been a very important issue in England. By the thirteenth century too, it was recognized that certain individuals, some by virtue of their birth and others because of the offices they held in the royal household and the government of the realm, had specific rights and duties in connection with the elaborate coronation ceremony. These particular functions were highly regarded, and consisted of such services as bearing the regalia or carrying the canopies which were held over the heads of the king and queen. The latter privilege became the "ancient custom" of the barons of Dover and the Cinque Ports.[22] This must be the "deveria" referred to in the order which Edward III sent to Bartholowmew de Burghersshe, constable of Dover Castle and Warden of the Cinque Ports, in February 1330.[23] These rights served the practical purpose of linking the individuals who held them more closely to the king. It was an honour to be able to share in the spectacle and pageantry of the day, a sentiment which the king appreciated and took advantage of to foster good will and to suit his own purposes. But the festivities involved the king in many expenses. To quote Schramm:

> There is . . . a whole series of fees with which people who do service have to be rewarded, and their number, too, increases with time. The butler goes away with a cup and the pantler with the salt-cellar and knives tamquam de iure suo. The canopy over the King's head and the carpet under his feet disappear after the banquet, and, because more than one person lays claim to them, they have to be cut up. This obligation to grant "spoilia" is to be found in Germany and France in the twelfth century; but a coronation seems to have been a peculiarly expensive matter for the King of England.[24]

The expenses did not diminish with time, and the special fees for Philippa's coronation must have caused Edward considerable expense. For example, on April 2, 1330, Edward issued a warrant "for the payment to Robert de Veer earl of Oxford, hereditary chamberlain of the Queen, of 100 marks in lieu of her bed, and her shoes, and 3 silver basins, his fee for attending at her coronation."[25]

Although the coronation of Edward II saw changes in the coronation ceremony, these concerned only the king and not the queen consort.[26] Isabella, Edward's young French bride, was crowned at the same time as her husband, on February 25, 1308, with great pomp and ceremony. According to Agnes Strickland,

> The young queen's outfit was magnificent. She brought with her to England two gold crowns, ornamented with gems. . . . Her dresses were made of gold and silver stuff, velvet and shot taffeta. She had six dresses of green cloth from Douay, six beautifully marbled, and six of rose scarlet, besides many costly furs.[27]

No changes were made in the rite when Edward III came to the throne nineteen years later following his father's compulsory abdication. As Schramm observes, the circumstances surrounding Edward III's accession to the throne

"were not favourable to the task of considering how the rite could be enriched and developed."[28] He states:

> . . . in view of the legal doubts in regard to the new king's title to the throne, the best policy was to follow closely the precedent of 1308 and thus preclude any occasion for legal criticism. The memorandum drawn up in that year, with the oath attached to it, substantiates this idea well enough, for the only change made is in the names of the people who perform the services. Besides this, a number of petitions reveal the fact that in 1327 claims and counter claims were made, and it would seem that nothing like the necessary time was available for testing these claims by examining the facts, as normal procedure would demand.[29]

As Edward III's accession to the throne did not occasion any changes in the coronation rite, Philippa's coronation three years later saw no changes in the ordo for the consort. Further developments had to wait until the coronation of Edward's grandson, Richard II in 1377 and of his queen, Anne of Bohemia, in 1382. Yet even here, the real changes were not all that great. Schramm concludes:

> The history of the English coronation, it is clear, developed on lines similar to the coronations of France and Germany. We now know that, by the close of the Middle Ages, there had taken place a great elaboration of the ceremonies attendant on the coronation, but that at the same time, the actual rite, which reached its final form during the fourteenth century, had changed not one whit in its real and essential nature.[30]

The secular festivities which attended a coronation in the Middle Ages must have seemed to many as important as the solemn act of coronation itself. To quote Schramm:

> Throughout the Middle Ages this side of the coronation was continually growing. Indeed this showy husk threatened to conceal entirely the original kernel of Christian consecration and constitutional investiture. Herein England was not peculiar, for other countries saw their coronation ceremonies expand on similar lines.[31]

A relatively early and full description of a Medieval coronation may be found in the twelfth century work of Geoffrey of Monmouth, The History of the Kings of Britain.[32] Although the coronation in question is that of king Arthur, and is a fine piece of fiction, "it is a fable which reflects many of the customs of the writer's time, from which the author has taken his details . . . granted that Geoffrey was the greatest romancer of his day, yet in this, as in other chapters, his fancy roamed in the world with which he and his readers were familiar."[33] Geoffrey depicts the secular pomp and pageantry and the brilliance of the festival in a charming manner. He describes the golden swords carried before Arthur by the four kings who are present for the occasion, the white doves which their ladies carry in their hands, the exquisite and harmonious chanting of the clergy who accompany the procession to the church, and the sweet music of organs and choirs. The men are clad in furs of ermine and miniver, the servants perform their duties in varying liveries, and the ladies of fashion, wonderfully dressed, display the colours of their knights. At the banquet which follows high mass, food and drink are served, in vessels of every conceivable shape, to the men and women, who sit separately according to the custom of their Trojan ancestors. At last, "invigorated by the food and drink which they had consumed, they went out into the meadows outside the city and split up into various groups ready to play various games."[34] These games consist of an

imitation battle on horseback, and a tournament of arms. Unfortunately, Geoffrey does not say definitely whether or not Guinivere is crowned with Arthur, but it may be assumed she was, for she is referred to as "Queen," and not simply as "lady" or "wife." She is also described as "adorned with her own regalia,"[35] and she, along with the king, are said to take off their crowns and put on lighter regalia before the banquet.[36] Some of the details of the coronation ceremony are by no means fictitious, and are actually recorded elsewhere, such as the bearing of swords before the king, the separation of the men and women at the coronation banquet, which took place in Anglo-Saxon times at any rate, and the laying aside of the coronation regalia before the banquet.[37] It is also known that a coronation was an occasion which afforded the opportunity for tournaments, jousts, and other forms of entertainment.

If the coronation of a monarch was so splendid in the age of Geoffrey of Monmouth, it had become even more so by the fourteenth century. As Schramm writes:

> The age of chivalry excelled in pageantry which displayed itself in splendor of clothing, arms, horses, all paraded before spectators at tournament and banquet in festal attire.[38]

Whatever the explanation for the increasing love of display evident everywhere, be it due to increased prosperity or to "the old rules of class and morality growing slack," as Schramm believes,[39] England followed the trend which was general throughout Europe. Coronations lent themselves

especially well to elaboration.

> The mere fact that the coronation was a solemnity requiring many hours to perform encouraged this process. A single day had become quite inadequate for the performance of the subsidiary ceremonies and for the rejoicing for which the coronation was the occasion. These were just the features of the event which the public loved to watch and share, and they were consequently enlarged and embellished.[40]

The coronation festivities began at the Tower of London, which was a royal residence throughout the Middle Ages, two nights before the coronation itself, where the king conferred knighthoods and bestowed honours on certain of the nobles of the realm.[41] The proceedings in honour of the queen began at the Tower too, or so it seems from the indenture, for it lists the clothes Philippa wore when "equitabat de Turri London' usque Westm' in uigilia diei coronacionis sue. . . ". Since the queen consort would not have spent her time at the Tower bestowing knighthoods, she probably busied herself in making other last minute preparations of all sorts, passing the time gaily with her ladies, and spending some time in prayer and meditation, for despite the secular accretions, a coronation was still a religious ceremony. Possibly she, like her husband on the occasion of his coronation, took a ceremonial bath, using perhaps the three silver basins which her chamberlain, Robert de Vere later claimed. Bathing, however, was closely associated with the usual preparations for knighthood, and the king, in order to emphasize the close connection which was established between himself and his knights, underwent this ritual

too.[42] Philippa might have begun a fast at midnight on the eve of her coronation, as was the custom for the king,[43] but she did have lunch at Westminster, as already noted. On her coronation day, she both lunched and dined.

The following day, a great procession was made from the Tower to Westminster Palace. According to Schramm, "it had lost all trace of what was originally a semi-ecclesiastical character and had become a triumphal progress in which the King's [or for that matter, the queen's] majesty was shown to the people."[44] Philippa, as we have already seen, was magnificently attired for her procession.

The coronation procession was first described in 1377 for the coronation of Richard II, and it only ceased to be a feature of the coronation after the coronation of Charles II.[45] The sights were many, and varied from occasion to occasion. What spectacles were devised for Philippa's coronation procession are not specified by any of her biographers. They were probably comparatively meagre due to the circumstances of the time; there may be something in Strickland's statement that the coronation "took place . . . with no particular splendor, for the rapacity of Isabella and Mortimer had absorbed all the funds provided to support the dignity of the crown."[46] At any rate, the procession for the queen consort, if she was being crowned separately from the king, would probably not have been as elaborate as that in honour of the king. During Richard II's progress, for example, four beautiful damsels

blew leaves of gold on the king's face, and threw gold pieces in his path from the four towers of a great castle of coloured linen. Wine flowed from two sides of the four towers, and from a central tower, which was part of this same edifice, a golden angel bowed and stretched out a crown toward the king.[47] According to a British Museum manuscript to which William Jones refers in his Crowns and Coronations A History of Regalia,

> Queens [of England] formerly proceeded from the Tower to their coronation in litters of cloth and gold, or white tissue without cover or bayetes; their hair dishevelled about their shoulders, with a circlet of gold on their heads, richly set with precious stones. Their kirtells of cloth and tissue, and mantells of the same, furred with ermine, and two palfreys clad in white damask, head and all over, down to the ground, or with some other rich covertures suitable in colour to the litter, and they bear the same. Over the queen was carried a cloth of gold tissue, with gilt curtains, and sometimes silver bells at the end, borne by sixteen knights, disposed four and four by turns. A palfrey of state with a side-saddle, trapped with a cloth of tissue, was led after her by the Master of the Horse. Queens have had three, and at other times, four chariots following them; the first two of red cloth of gold, the third of white, and the fourth of red satin; every chariot being drawn by six horses longways, and open in all ways except the top. Betwixt the Queen's litter and every of these chariots rode six or seven ladies richly apparelled in crimson velvet, ., and last of all, the ladies' women, all clad in the liveries of their ladies.[48]

This description is similar to the more detailed account of the actual procession of Elizabeth of York in 1487 which is printed by Jones in his Crowns and Coronations.[49]

The procession terminated at Westminster Palace, another royal residence, where the king and queen spent the night before the actual coronation in the Abbey. "As for

the consecration itself within the Abbey," Schramm writes, "only an illustrious and select circle could get near it, and so it became a question whether it would not lose its central position and become a mere episode in a long series of festivities. . .".[50]

After the consecration, and a short procession back to Westminster Hall, there followed a great banquet. According to Bertie Wilkinson in his Coronations in History, the great banquet is first mentioned in 1189 and had Teutonic origins.[51] He states that "it was highly ceremonious, reflecting the richness of Medieval life, dominated by feudal magnate-officials and feudal duties, and replete with medieval love, when opportunity offered, of lavish food."[52] The particulars of Philippa's coronation banquet are not specified by any of her biographers, but for interest's sake, attention may be drawn to Mathew Paris' mention of

> the profusion of dishes which furnished the table,--the abundance of venison,--the variety of fish,--the diversity of wine,--the gaiety of jugglers,--the readiness of the attendants,--whatever the world could produce for glory or delight was there conspicuous,

at the wedding and coronation of Eleanor of Provence, the consort of Henry III, in 1236,[53] or to the details of Henry VI's coronation banquet in 1429, which are preserved in a British Museum manuscript and printed at length by Jones.[54]

Whatever the festivities consisted of at Philippa's coronation, it seems that they were not

concluded until the day after the actual coronation, for the indenture makes specific reference to the garments Philippa wore the following day. Probably the revels included games, exhibitions, feats of arms, jousts, dancing, dramas, and an abundance of music.

Four months after her coronation, on June 15,[55] Philippa's first child, a son, was born at the royal residence of Woodstock. According to some writers, the baby, who was to become one of the most romantic and chivalrous figures of the Middle Ages, was born about ten o'clock in the morning.[56] Agnes Strickland gives a highly imaginative description of the occasion:

> The great beauty of this infant, his size and the firm texture of his limbs, filled everyone with admiration who saw him. Like that renowed queen-regent of France, Blanche of Castile, mother of St. Louis, Philippa chose to nourish her babe at her own bosom. It is well known that the portraits of the lovely young Philippa and her princely boy formed the favorite models for the Virgin and Child at that era.[57]

According to Hardy, and a modern biographer of the Black Prince, R. P. Dunn-Pattison, handsome gifts were granted to the baby's bersatrix or cradle-rocker, and the queen's nurse.[58] The king's yeoman, Thomas Priour, received a grant "for bringing the welcome news of the birth of Edward, the King's first born son, of a yearly pension of 40 marks out of the Exchequer, until he be provided with the equivalent in land or rent, for life."[59] Others were interested in the news of course, and Henry, earl of Lancaster and Leicester, steward of England,

"granted to Peter de Eketon, for life, for bringing him news of the birth of the King's first-born son, a rent of 10 marks out of the manor of Kynemeresford, Co. Gloucester, with power to distrain for the same if in arrear."[60]

Whether or not "England was wild with joy from King to peasant," as Hardy asserts, is not known, but a great tournament was proclaimed at London "the mondaie after Saint Matthew's day in September,"[61] an event which no doubt promised great joy to all who hoped to attend. However, the celebrations in honour of the baby prince very nearly resulted in misfortune, and Philippa's biographers take great interest in describing the incident. Perhaps the most vivid account is given by Strickland.

> Philippa and all the female nobility were invited to be present [at the tournament]. Thirteen knights were engaged on each side, and the tournament was held in Cheapside, between Wood-Street and Queen street: the highway was covered with sand to prevent the horses' feet from slipping, and a grand temporary tower was erected, made of boarding filled with seats for the accomodation of the queen and her ladies. But scarcely had this fair company entered the tower, when the scaffolding suddenly gave way, and all present fell to the ground with the queen. Though no one was injured, all were terribly frightened, and great confusion ensued. When the young king saw the peril of his wife he flew into a tempest of rage, and vowed that the careless carpenters who had constructed the building should instantly be put to death. Whether he would thus far have stretched the prerogative of an English sovereign can never be known, for his angelic partner, scarcely recovered from the shock of her fall, threw herself on her knees before the incensed king, and so effectively pleaded for the pardon of the poor men, that Edward became pacified, and forgave them.[62]

It is interesting that in July, the king himself had issued an order forbidding tournaments,[63] and no doubt he regretted this exception to his prohibition.

Four days after the birth of the child in whose honour the tournament was held, Edward issued the following warrant to the treasurer and chamberlains of the exchequer:

> Edward, by the Grace of God, King of England . . . to the treasurer and chamberlains of our Exchequer, greeting. We are sending you enclosed herein a schedule containing many things which will be needed for the uprising of Philippa, Queen of England, our beloved consort, from childbirth. So we command and charge you that you cause payment to be made without delay from our treasure for the provision and purchase of all these things, to our beloved clerk, Master William la Zouche, clerk of Our Great Wardrobe, of all such moneys as shall be needed. And for our honor and that of our said Consort, you should take order as soon as you can, without any excuse, for payment to be made, lest through your fault the things be not ready for the said day of uprising.
>
> Given under our seal at Woodstock, the nineteenth of June in the fourth year of our reign.[64]

The schedule which is attached to this warrant, consists of a list of the clothing required for the occasion of the "churching" or relevacio of Philippa, both for herself and for the "dames and demoiselles of the chamber," materials for coverlets for the queen's bed and great cradle, hangings for the queen's chapel and the great chamber, fueling for the chamber, and two coffers for the infant's chamber.

The purification of a woman following childbirth was an occasion of great importance in the Middle Ages. The rite does not evoke nearly as much concern when it is practiced today. The modern Roman ritual, which dates back to the pontificate of Paul V in the seventeenth century, presents the churching of women simply as an act of thanksgiving.[65] There are many references to "churchings" in

medieval texts, but in fact, very little seems to be known about them. A brief mention of the practice appears in Abbot G. Gasquet's now somewhat discredited, Parish Life in Medieval England, published in 1906. Gasquet writes:

> Immediately connected with the question of baptism is that old Catholic practice of the churching of women. The rite was probably suggested by the prescriptions of the law of Leviticus, and it was used in the Greek as well as in the Latin church. The priest leads the woman into the church saying, "Come into the temple of God. Adore the Son of the Blessed Virgin Mary, who has given thee fruitfulness in childbearing." For churchings, as for marriages and burials, the general fee was supposed to be 1d; but most people who could afford it made a larger offering. The fee for churching is specially named by Bishop Grandisson amongst those which a parson should not demand, but which all who could, ought to give willingly. Amongst the goods of St. Mary the Great, Cambridge, in the churchwardens' accounts is one: "Item. A clothe of tappestry werk for chirching of wifes, lyned with canvas, in ecclesia." This, no doubt, would be a carpet upon which the woman knelt before the altar.[66]

The available records do not give us the exact date of Philippa's churching. The warrant to provide for the necessities was issued on June 19, 1330. The indenture states only that the churching took place at Woodstock in the month of July. For the churching of Philippa, we have the schedule of requirements attached to the royal warrant of June 19. This schedule, which is in French, has been translated and printed by Edith Rickert as follows:

> one robe of red velvet of 3 garments, to wit, coat, surcoat, and mantle, with the facings of pure miniver, 6 pieces.
>
> For the churching of my Lady, a coat and hood (chape) of cloth of gold, with facings of miniver, 5 pieces.
>
> For the great banquet, a robe embroidered with gold of five garments, with facings of pure miniver--the facings are lacking.[67]

> For the evening, a robe of silken cloth worked with fine gold, of 3 garments, coat, surcoat, and mantle, with pure fur, 6 pieces.[68]

In addition to that which is provided in the schedule concerning the churching, we also have the information provided by the indenture.

A comparison of the schedule and the indenture is difficult. The first states what items were to be provided, the second what items were, in fact, provided. One can easily imagine that the schedule might not be followed in every detail. Moreover, one can not really compare an English translation of the French schedule with the Latin of the indenture, even assuming that the translation contains no errors. Only in a few instances does Rickert give the French word for an individual item. However, the schedule, even in translation, is useful.

The schedule, except in two instances, states specifically for what purpose each robe it lists was to be used, and the order in which they were to be worn on the day of the churching. The indenture, with one exception, lists only the robes and the materials required to make them. This one exception is the robe worn for the official ceremony of the churching.

The schedule begins with a red velvet robe of three garments, with facings of pure miniver, requiring six pieces of cloth. The purpose for which the robe is to be used is not given. The indenture, however, records that a red velvet robe of three pieces, which required trimmings

of miniver, was used for the churching at Woodstock. It also specifies that a hood which needed forty skins was worn at the ceremony. The schedule states that a hood was to be used in the ceremony, as well as a coat, although the hood was to be made of cloth of gold with miniver facings. The robe in the schedule is to require six pieces of cloth; the robe actually used needed seven cloths.

The schedule indicates that the churching was to be followed by a great banquet. For this the queen was to have "a robe embroidered with gold of five garments with facings of pure miniver." This may be the robe of five garments listed in the indenture.

> Item, for one robe of 5 garments made with golden squirrel for the same, twelve cloths of purple velvet, four furs each prepared of 340 skins, 1 lining prepared of 560 skins, 2 hoods each prepared of 40 skins, and 1 hood prepared of 32 skins.

There are obvious differences. Miniver facings are to be provided by the schedule; the indenture notes only golden squirrel fur. However, the note added to the schedule states that "the facings are lacking." Possibly, they were never provided.

For the evening after the banquet, the schedule requires "a robe of silken cloth worked with fine gold, of 3 garments." This may be the fourth robe of the indenture, described as being of "sex pannos ad aurum raffatos plunkettos." The word "raffatos" appears in no medieval Latin dictionary. It seems to be an adjective modifying

"plunkettos," a type of cloth. One would like to know the original French of the schedule for the robe of three garments. It might suggest that the indenture description should be translated as, "six cloths of plunkett worked with fine gold."[69]

The schedule provides for the furring on "one robe of the best" of five garments in connection with the churching. The indenture ~~also~~ lists a robe of five garments which required furring, as well as lining. It was a woollen robe given to the queen "per mercatores de Card'." The two may be identical. It is not known why the merchants would give the queen a robe.

In addition to the items required to make the robes for Philippa's coronation and churching, the indenture gives materials needed "ad iiii robas faciendas pro eadem ex consuete liberacione regis pro quattuor festis anni huiis," that is, robes for the feasts of Easter, Pentecost, All Saints, and Christmas; for lining a robe given to Philippa by the king, for making her a rounded overtunic ("supertunicam rotundam"), for furring another rounded overtunic and hood from her own wardrobe, for trimming the robes with ermine, and for making four pairs of stockings, two pairs of which were made of scarlet cloth, the other two "panni de Brucell'." These last items, which are given after the list of materials needed specifically for the robes for the four feasts, do not seem to be particularly associated with any one of the occasions named in the indenture.

Other materials for articles of clothing were received "pro dominabus et domicellis camere domine Regine predicte." Although clothing allowances were customarily granted to members of the household, and for feast days, ladies generally had new garments,[70] the items which appear here were probably given to the dames and damsels for the occasion of Philippa's churching.[71] That this was the case seems to be indicated by the fact that these materials are given immediately after the other articles which were used specifically for the churching, such as ornaments and necessities for the great cradle. In addition, it seems possible to match these materials with those listed in the warrant, also for the dames and damsels of the chamber. A comparison of the two documents is particularly useful here, for in the indenture, the items "pro dominabus et domicellis" occur in the last lines, parts of which have been torn away. Thus the warrant is valuable not only because it enables one to guess what may have been included in parts of the schedule that are now missing, but also because it can be used in estimating how much of the indenture, in terms of letters and spaces, has been lost.

Concerning the things for the ladies of the chamber, the indenture reads:

> Item, the same received for the ladies and damsels of the chamber of the said lady queen 1 half fur ["1 furram dimidiam"] of miniver of 7 backs 9 furs. . . . hoods each prepared of 40 skins.[72]

The two entries in the schedule which seem to correspond

to the one in the indenture read:

> Item, for dames and demoiselles of the chamber, 7-1/2 furs of "popr'." 10 furs of "grow," one fur and a half of miniver. Item, for the dames and demoiselles of the chamber, eight hoods (chaperons) of miniver and one hood of miniver of 40 skins.

Rickert does not suggest what furs of "popr'" and "grow" might be, and since the French is not provided, it does not seem possible to make a suggestion here or to compare them to anything given in the indenture. According to the indenture, the ladies received a half fur of miniver, whereas, the schedule, according to Rickert's translation, orders one fur and a half of miniver. This discrepancy may be due to a misreading of the warrant on Rickert's part, a scribal error in one or the other of the documents, or simply the result of an alteration of some sort. The Latin in the indenture which reads, ".i. furram dimidiam minuti uarii de vii. tiris/ ix furras. . . .", associates the seven backs nine furs in the indenture with the miniver, not with anything which might be the "7-1/2 furs of "popr'," 10 furs of "grow" ordered in the schedule.

The lacuna in the manuscript, which begins after "ix fur'," the last word in line 69, ends with "apuc'" in the next line. The latter word resembles "capuc'," the shortened form of "capucium" or "hood," which appears frequently throughout the indenture. If it is assumed that this word is "capucium," or a form of it, some of the missing words in the indenture may in fact be the Latin forms of the "8 hoods of miniver and 1 hood of miniver," ordered

in the schedule. It should be noted that the same number of skins is given in both documents.

The various articles of clothing and the materials needed to make them for the given occasions are followed in the indenture by a quantity of "alia necessaria." These other necessities, which are not robes, but such things as coverlets, curtains, hangings, tapestries, cushions, pillows, mattresses, and beds, all seem to have been made or prepared in association with the churching, although it is not stated for each item that it was specifically "pro relevacione ipsius domine regine." Some of these "necessaria" occur in the warrant as well.

The first of these items oddly separates the five robes made particularly for the churching from the fur and the lining required for the woollen robe given to Philippa by the merchants of Cardiff, the cloak made of forty skins, and the ermine required to trim "the said robes." It should be recalled that a further list of robes, those for the four feasts of the year, follows the note about the ermine. This oddly placed item reads "Item, for one partition for the chapel of the lady queen six pieces of sindon of triple cloth." It seems comparable to the one in the warrant which reads, "Item, a cloth (clotet) for the Queen's chapel of crimson sendal of Tripoli, 6 pieces." Sendal and sindon seem to be the same or very similar fabrics, for the Oxford English Dictionary defines sendal as "a thin rich silken material," and "a

fine linen," and sindon as , "a fine thin fabric of linen." In addition, according to the same dictionary, sendal was often understood as a rendering of the Latin "sindon," even before it became obsolete in the sense of being "a thin rich silken material." According to the indenture, this cloth was "ad .1. clausuram pro capella domine regine," and presumably, the cloth ordered in the schedule for the queen's chapel was to be put to the same use. Whether or not the cloth given in the indenture was in fact crimson, as ordered in the schedule, the indenture does not state. At any rate, it should be noted that in both documents, the required amount of cloth, that is, six pieces, is the same.

The indenture gives a much fuller account than the warrant of articles other than robes which were required for Philippa's churching. The two documents here can be compared only to a limited extent. Immediately following the two entries in the indenture, "Item ad duo paria caligarum pro eadem . . . [de] panni scarlatti," and "Item ad altera duo paria caligarum pro eadem," there is a list of materials for two beds "cum toto apparatu de novo faciendos pro relevacione." Curiously enough, one of the beds is said to be red and the other green. The significance of the two beds, if there is any at all, is not known. A bed for Philippa and a great cradle for her son are mentioned in the warrant, but no entry seems to correspond with this particular one in the indenture. For these beds, which as the indenture states were made for the churching, the

following items were required:

> Item . . . for two pillows for the same each in length 7 ells and in width 7 of triple sindon; Item for 2 matresses made for the same beds 6 ells in length and in width 5 of triple sindon 13 pieces 3 ells of triple sindon and 112 pounds of cotton; Item for 6 curtains made for the same each in length seven widths of triple muslin and in depth 3-1/2 ells 16 pieces 3 ells of similar sindon; Item for two vaulted canopies made for the same each in length 6-1/2 ells and in width 7 of sindon 10 pieces 1 ell of triple sindon and to line the same 4 pieces 4-1/2 ells of sindon; Item for two curtains for the same each in length 5 of sindon and in depth 3-1/2 ells 3 pieces 8 ells of similar sindon and to line the same 2 pieces of sindon . . . . Item for 2 coverlets for the same each in length 7 ells and in width 6 of sindon 5 pieces 9 ells of sindon; Item for two white pillows made for the same beds each in length 6 ells and in width 5 of buckram[74] 10 pieces 5 ells of buckram pieces containing 5-1/2 ells 96 ells of Paris cloth and 32 pounds of cotton.

In addition to the red and green beds, there was still another bed. This third bed, described as a smaller bed, also with all new material, was made for the baby prince himself "contra eandem relevacionen." The type of materials required for this bed are the same as those for the red and green beds, but the quantities and proportions are smaller. Like the other beds, the baby's bed had a pillow made of sindon, another of buckram and Paris cloth stuffed with cotton, a matress of sindon stuffed with cotton, a coverlet of sindon, a vaulted canopy of sindon, and sindon curtains.

Following the description of the infant's bed, the indenture proceeds to give the quantities of sindon needed to hang curtains in the queen's chamber. One curtain for her chamber required in length twelve widths of triple

sindon and three and a half ells, six pieces "in depth"[75] of "similar sindon" ("sindonis consimilis"). Another curtain for the same chamber required in length twelve widths of sindon, and in depth, three and a half ells, two pieces, twelve ells of sindon.

The indenture returns to a list of the materials required for the three beds, but now the three beds are considered as a unit. Three long pillows and twelve smaller pillows were made for the three beds of Aylesham,[76] sindon, and small feathers, and twenty-two cushions or "quissynos" were made of Paris cloth, fustian,[77] samite, and one hundred and thirty-two pounds "plume minute."

After discussing the cushions and pillows for the three beds, the indenture ceases to list items in an orderly fashion. The canvas required to wrap up the beds and robes for safe keeping, presumably after the occasion for their use had passed, is given with the material required to make three long coverchiefs[78] for the three beds, the twenty-two pounds of silk "ad diversa opera super culcitras matracia et alia supradicta facienda," the seventy-one pounds of thin red and green cord used to put up the curtains, hangings, and other things in the chamber and about the beds, the sixty-four pounds of ribbon for binding up the curtains and hangings and a number of tapestries "subscriptis," the eight pounds of fine thread "pro predictis culcitras albis punctandis et consuendis," and the one thousand copper rings "pro dictis curtinis ridellis et aliis in eidem

cameris pendendis." Included among the hangings in the chamber were the "tapeceriis subscriptis," a total of forty red and green tapestries which no doubt, matched Philippa's two beds very well. The material used to make these tapestries is not specified, although their measurements are recorded. Unless the information has been left out due to a scribal error, the suggestion made here is that these tapestries were made at some time previous to that encompassed by the indenture, and were only mentioned because some of the copper rings just listed would have been used to hang them for the occasion of Philippa's churching, and some of the ribbon given above was used for binding them up.[79]

A number of coverings for the beds were required. These are described in considerable detail in the indenture, and to a more limited extent in the warrant. According to the indenture, for two coverings for the two large beds, twenty ells of long scarlet cloth and twenty-three ells of short scarlet cloth were needed, as well as one covering of miniver prepared of two thousand two hundred and eighty skins, and one covering prepared of one thousand nine hundred and forty-four skins. For two coverchiefs for the same two beds, William of London received two cloths of velvet, one coverchief of miniver prepared of four hundred and eighty skins, and one coverchief prepared of four hundred and thirty-two skins. For a covering "pro tercio lecto predicto," fifteen ells of scarlet cloth were needed,

a cover of miniver prepared of six hundred and sixty skins, and for one cover for the same bed, another cloth of velvet, and a coverchief of miniver prepared of one hundred and eighty skins were needed. This "aforesaid third bed" must have been the infant's bed. A cover of ermine, described as "old" ("coopertorium uetus de ermynis"), was used for the churching, but it required a lining of two cloths of brown tartarin,[80] a border of four cloths of the best diapered gold, a coverchief of one short cloth of red "raffatus" powdered with gold, and a coverchief of miniver prepared of four hundred and eighty skins. The reason that this old coverlet was refurbished rather than discarded is that in the Middle Ages ermine was considered a very rich and costly fur. The materials required here follow the list of items needed for coverings for the third bed, but it is not clear from the indenture itself which of the three beds was to receive the ermine covering.

The warrant has two entries pertaining to coverings for beds. These are:

> Item, a coverlet of scarlet for the said Queen, with the facing of pure miniver, and a kerchief for my Lady--provided.
>
> Item, a coverlet of fine cloth of gold with facings for the bed of my said Lady and a kerchief--not known hitherto.

Although there are similarities between the two documents at this point, a close comparison of the items is not really justified.

A particularly fascinating part of the indenture

is that which lists the items for ".l. cunabulum magnum," one large cradle. Undoubtedly, this would be the cradle which would be used for state occasions. Gilded, decorated with paintings of the four evangelists, and provided with some sort of scarlet roof with a border of azure cloth and lined underneath with brown taffeta, it must have been a magnificent cradle. It required two scarlet covers, a cover of green cloth, one of gray containing five hundred and ten backs (".l. coopertorium de griseo continens dx tergos"), and a linen sheet. The warrant hardly does justice to the cradle, for its only reference to it is an order for "a coverlet of scarlet with facings of miniver, for the great cradle for the infant, and a kerchief--lacking, namely, half a cloth."

The indenture refers to another cradle, a smaller one, which was presumably quite plain. Because of the lacunae in the manuscript at this point, it is impossible to know much about its appearance or what was needed for it beyond forty ells of white cloth and one binding of silk. The warrant does not mention the smaller cradle at all.

The lacunae in the manuscript may have stated something about the "four covers and 1 long cover for the cart of the said queen," to which the indenture refers.[81] Similarly, for the next entry, "Item. item recepit pro apparatu et ornacione camerarum domine. . . .", all that is certain is that William of London received "thirty and

six cloths of diapered gold, thirty and four cloths of gold of Luk',[82] four cloths of tartarin. . . .". Concerning "the preparation and adornment of the chambers of the lady," the warrant only states, "Item, bear in mind the cloths of gold for hanging the great chamber and fueling for the said chamber."

The indenture, after listing the few items received "pro dominabus et domicellis camere domine regine," concludes the account "ipsum factis tam circa consuturam et facturam robarum et quarundam rerum predictarum." Reference is made to wages, "the location of his offices," and "the sum total to be owed and allocated," but unfortunately, the lacunae make the reading and interpretation of this part most difficult. A possible suggestion is that Philippa, perhaps during her confinement, handed over the control of her household to the king, and that, during this time, it was necessary to make certain provisions for the wages and the place of office of William of London, her tailor.[83]

Beyond the material which can be gleaned from the indenture and the warrant, no actual description of Philippa's churching on the occasion of the birth of prince Edward seems to exist. There are, however, other descriptions of medieval churchings which are useful for purposes of comparison, and reveal incidental information, and therefore, should not be overlooked. Of particular interest is one which was written more than a hundred years

after the time with which this thesis is concerned. This description is included in a certain Gabriel Tetzel's account of his travels about Europe in the entourage of one of the supporters of the king of Bohemia. Tetzel was in England in 1466, and witnessed the churching of the consort of Edward IV. His rather full and lengthy account reads as follows:

> On another day the king summoned us to his court, on the morning when the queen left her childbed to go to church with a splendid procession, accompanied by many priests carrying relics and many school-boys singing and carrying lights. Then followed a great band of matrons and maidens from the country and from London too, who had been invited to attend. Then came a great number of trumpeters, pipers, and drummers, then followed the king's choristers, about 42 of them, who sang excellently. Then marched 24 heralds and pursuivants, followed by 60 earls and knights. After them came the queen escorted by two dukes, with a canopy carried over her. Behind her walked her mother, with about 60 maidens and ladies. So she heard a sung office and then she left the church with the same procession as before and returned to her palace. Then all who had taken part in the procession stayed to the banquet. They seated themselves, men and women, clerical and lay, each according to his rank, and they filled four large halls. . . . You would not believe how lavish was the feast. While we were eating, the king's gifts were distributed to all the trumpeters, pipers, jesters, heralds, the heralds alone receiving 400 nobles. . . . When my lord and the earl had finished their meal, the earl led my lord and his companions into a particularly splendid and decorated hall, where the queen was now to have her meal. My lord and his companions were seated in a corner, so that they might witness the great splendor of the arrangements. The queen sat alone at table in a costly golden chair. . . . The feast lasted for three hours, and many costly dishes were served to the queen and her mother and the king's sister and others; of these dishes it would take too long to write. . . . After the banquet the dancing began. The queen remained seated in her chair. . . . After the dancing the king's choristers entered and sang.[84]

There are many briefer references to churchings in medieval sources. For example, in the wardrobe account of Edward II for the year 1316, a note is made of a robe made for Isabella for her churching after the birth of her second son, John of Eltham. The entry reads:

> . . . to Stephen Falocye, the Queen's tailor, five pieces of white velvet for the making thereof a certain robe against the churching of the queen after the birth of her said son.[85]

According to Agnes Strickland, the king's household account of 1318 shows that a gift of £333 was given to "the lady Isabella, queen of England, for her churching feast, after the birth of the lady Eleanora."[86] A nineteenth century biographer of the princess, Mary Anne Everett Green remarks:

> Isabella, wife of Edward II spent the immense sum of £333 6 s. 8d. upon herself at the feast of her purification at the birth of her daughter Eleanora. No provision suitable to her rank seems to have been provided for the infant princess.[87]

Neither Strickland or Hardy, Philippa's biographers, attempt to describe Philippa's churching after the birth of prince Edward, but Green, in her Lives of the Princesses of England, describes Philippa's churching after the birth of her first daughter, Isabella, in 1332. Using the relevant wardrobe accounts of both king Edward and Philippa as the basis of her account, she writes:

> The infant princess was ushered into the world with all the dignity due to her rank. She had two cradles; her great cradle, for state occasions, was lined with taffeta, profusely gilded and decorated with the arms of England and Hainault, and furnished in spite of the

> summer warmth, with a coverlet composed of 670 skins. A tailor John Bromley by name, was appointed for her particular service before she was quite a month old; and thanks to his skill, when the little lady made her public appearance, at the "revelailles" or "uprising" of the queen, as it was called in those days, she was attired in a rich robe of Lucca silk, with four rows of "garnitures," and edged with costly furs. The Queen, as was then customary, received the compliments of the court, reclining upon a state-bed, the coverlet of which, made expressly for the occasion, was of green velvet, seven and a half ells long and eight wide, embroidered all over with the devise of a merman and a mermaid, bearing the shields of England and Hainault. She wore a robe of red and purple velvet embroidered with pearls. Her ladies of the bedchamber all appeared in new attire purchased for the occasion; and the whole of the queen's household, from the treasurer and chancellor down to the lowest kitchen servant, were similarly provided for, with a liberality that evinced the determination of the king that everyone who surrounded his infant daughter should share in the joy of her birth afforded to himself.88

A description of Philippa's churching after the birth of her fourth son in 1348 is given by Paul Johnson in his book, The Life and Times of Edward III. Unfortunately, however, Johnson does not give his source.

> [Edward] gave her a robe and a tunic of blue velvet, worked with gold birds surrounded by large pearls, the ground being powdered with small pearls--four hundred large pearls and thirty-eight ounces of small pearls in all. At the same time, six hundred large pearls and sixteen pounds of gold leaf were used to redecorate her chamber; she was given a new bed, a state cradle and a "common cradle" for her child, new silver cups, saucers and spoons, and twelve carpets worth £60. (The Black Prince capped this by sending her a new hunter, called 'Banzan de Burgh').89

Green's description of the churching of Eleanor, the wife of Edward I after the birth of their eighth daughter in 1282, provides an interesting and unusual contrast.

> Eleanora travelled through Carnarvon to Rhudlan, where in August 1282, she gave birth to the Princess Elizabeth. The festival of her purification, which was held about the eighth of September, was celebrated with much splendor: fifty-one minstrels from different parts of England were gathered together, and the hall of the rude Welsh fortress rang with their merriment; while numbers of the neighboring poor flocked to the kitchen and buttery to receive the portions of food which were doled out on the occasion. Masses were also performed before the queen, at which she presented costly offerings in token of thanksgiving for her recovery. The royal infant was but roughly cradled. Her whole nursery equippage consisted of a copper tankard, posnet, and bracket with a few similar articles of inferior material.[90]

Although there is much about churching in the Middle Ages that is obscure, and not readily understandable, some statements and a summary may be made on the basis of the information provided by the indenture, the warrant, and the other sources noted in this chapter.

The occasion demanded a number of new robes both for herself and her ladies. Her chambers would be elaborately decorated with costly tapestries and hangings, provided with new and richly dressed beds, and otherwise splendidly furnished for the celebrations. Probably she would receive visitors lying on a bed of state. There would be a procession to the church in which would participate members of the clergy, nobility, and citizens of importance. All would go forth to the accompaniment of music and song. The queen followed, probably in a cart or "chariota"[91] with a canopy over her head. She would be escorted by nobles and attended by a great number of maidens and ladies. Upon her arrival at the church, she

no doubt offered prayers and oblations, and "So she heard a sung office and then she left the church with the same procession as before and returned to her palace."[92] A lavish banquet would follow with various forms of entertainment, including dancing and an abundance of music. Like her coronation, only a few months earlier, the lady Philippa's churching must have been an elaborate affair.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER III

[1] Foedera, ii p. ii, 781.

[2] C.C.R., 1330-33, p. 132.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Syllabus in English of Rymer's Foedera or Syllabus in English of the Documents Relating to England and other Kingdoms, T. D. Hardy, ed. (London: Longmans and Co., 1885. University Microfilms, Ann Arbor Michigan, 1965), p. 254.

[5] Thomas of Walsingham, Chronica Historia Anglicana, H. T. Riley ed. (London: Longmans, 1863), vol. 1, p. 192.

[6] C. R. Cheney, ed., Handbook of Dates for Students of English History (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1945), p. 118.

[7] D.N.B. vol. XV, p. 1050; F. George Kay, Lady of the Sun, the Life and Times of Alice Perrers (London: Frederick Muller, 1966), p. 56.

[8] Agnes Strickland, Lives of the Queens of England from the Norman Conquest (London: Bell and Daldy, 1864), 6 vols. vol. I, p. 381; B. C. Hardy, Philippa of Hainault and Her Times (London: John Long, Ltd., 1910), p. 64.

[9] Hardy, op. cit., p. 65.

[10] Reverend F. C. Hingeston-Randolph, ed., The Register of John de Grandisson, Bishop of Exeter (A.D. 1327-1369) (London: George Bell and Sons, 1894), vol. 1, p. 244.

[11] According to the Oxford English Dictionary (1961 ed.) diaper is "the name of a textile fabric; now and since the fifteenth century applied to a linen fabric (or an inferior fabric of "union" or cotton) woven with a small and simple pattern formed by the different directions of the thread with the different reflexions of light from its surface, and consisting of lines crossing diamond-wise, with the spaces variously filled up by parallel lines, a central leaf or dot, etc. In earlier times esp. in old Fr.

and Med. L. the name was applied to a richer and more costly fabric, apparently of silk, woven or flowered over the surface with gold thread." J. R. Planche, the author of History of British Costume from the Earliest Period to the Close of the Eighteenth Century (London: George Bell and Sons, third ed., 1874, p. 107), discussing the lines " . . . clothes of fine gold/ With damask white and azure blewe/ Well diappered with lillies new;", in a thirteenth century romance, states:

> The word diaper is derived by some writers from "d'Ipres," i.e. "of Ypres," a town in Flanders, famous for its manufactory of rich stuffs and fine linen before the year 1200. Du Cange derives it from the Italian diaspro, the jasper which it resembles in its shifting lights; but the first is by far the most plausible conjecture. . . . Ypres having given its name to its peculiar manufacture, any similar cloth received the same appellation. Thus we see in the lines above quoted that the "damask white and azure blewe" is to be well "diappered with lillies," that is to say, covered all over with a pattern of lillies, in the style of the cloth made at Ypres.

[12]C. Willet and P. Cunnington, Handbook of English Medieval Costume (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1952), pp. 169-175.

[13]The correct translation of this word, which occurs throughout the indenture, presents considerable difficulty since it appears in no medieval Latin dictionary. The word is discussed below in connection with a gown Philippa wore on the occasion of her churching.

[14]P. E. Schramm, A History of the English Coronation (Oxford: 1937), trans. by Leopold G. Wickham Legg, p. 29.

[15]Ibid.

[16]Ibid.

[17]Ibid., pp. 29-30.

[18]Ibid., p. 37.

[19]Ibid., p. 60

[20]Ibid.

[21]Ibid.

[22]Ibid., p. 69.

[23]See note 3 above.

[24]Schramm, op. cit., p. 68.

[25]Foedera, ii p. ii 784.

[26]For a discussion of some of these changes, see Schramm, op. cit., p. 75, and M. McKisack, The Fourteenth Century 1307-1399 (Oxford: 1957), pp. 4-7.

[27]Strickland, op. cit., pp. 328-329.

[28]Schramm, op. cit., p. 79.

[29]Ibid.

[30]Ibid., p. 89.

[31]Ibid., p. 90.

[32]Geoffrey of Monmouth, The History of the Kings of Britain, Lewis Thorpe, trans. (Penquin, 1973), pp. 226-231.

[33]Schramm, op. cit., p. 64.

[34]Geoffrey of Monmouth, op. cit., pp. 229-30.

[35]Ibid., p. 228.

[36]Ibid., p. 229.

[37]Schramm, op. cit., pp. 64-68.

[38]Ibid., p. 90.

[39]Ibid., p. 91.

[40]Ibid., p. 93.

[41]Ibid.

[42]Ibid., p. 94.

[43]B. Wilkinson, The Coronation in History (London: George Philip and Son Ltd., 1953), p. 32.

[44]Schramm, op. cit., p. 94.

[45]Ibid.

[46]Strickland, op. cit., p. 381.

[47]W. Jones, Crowns and Coronation A History of Regalia (London: Chatto and Windus, 1902, reissued by Singing Tree Press, Detroit Michigan, 1968), p. 145; Schramm, op. cit., p. 95.

[48]Jones, op. cit., p. 263. The palfrey of state with a side-saddle would not have figured in Philippa's coronation since the side-saddle was introduced into England in the reign of Richard II.

[49]Ibid., p. 148.

[50]Schramm, op. cit., p. 93.

[51]Wilkinson, Coronations, p. 32.

[52]Ibid.

[53]Jones, op. cit., p. 263.

[54]Ibid., p. 504.

[55]June 15, 1330 is the date given for the birth of Edward the Black Prince by most sources, such as the Handbook of British Chronology, ed. by F. M. Powicke and E. B. Fryde, 2nd ed. (London: Royal Historical Society, 1961), p. 36; Margaret Sharp in her study of the household of the prince published in Tout's Chapters, vol. V, p. 289, n. 6; Agnes Strickland, op. cit., p. 381; B. C. Hardy, op. cit., p. 66; F. George Kay, op. cit., p. 56; DNB vol. VI, p. 508; Edith Rickert in Chaucer's World, ed. by C. Olson and M. Crow (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948), p. 94. The author of one of the few biographies of the Black Prince, R. P. Dunn-Pattison, gives the date of his birth as June 16 (The Black Prince, London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1910, p. 12).

[56]Dunn-Pattison, op. cit., p. 12; Hardy, op. cit., p. 66.

[57]Strickland, op. cit., p. 381. A photograph of a statue of the Virgin and Child from Winchester, which is said to be one of these representations of Philippa and her child, is included in Paul Johnson's The Life and Times of Edward III (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1973), pp. 55-56. Johnson states, "Tradition says she suckled her first-born, the future Black Prince herself, (though the documents show that he had a nursemaid), and a statue at Winchester represents her as a Virgin with the babe at her breast."

[58]Hardy, op. cit., p. 66; Dunn-Pattison, op. cit., p. 12. Neither author gives a source for this information. There is no record of grants or pensions to these individuals in Foedera Calendar of the Close Rolls, Calendar of the Patent Rolls, Calendar of the Fine Rolls, or Calendar of the Charter Rolls. However, it is not unlikely that they would have received some rewards for their services on such an important occasion.

[59]C.P.R., 1330-34, p. 74. Given at Westminster, February 4, 1331.

[60]Ibid., p. 16. Given at Woodstock, November 3, 1330. Added to this entry is the note, "Inspeximus et confirmatum of an indenture (in French) dated Nottingham September last . . . ."

[61]Dunn-Pattison, op. cit., p. 12. The date would be Sept. 24. The tournament is described by Strickland, op. cit., pp. 381-82; Hardy, op. cit., p. 66; and Dunn-Pattison, op. cit., pp. 12-13.

[62]Strickland, op. cit., pp. 381-82. Strickland does not give her source, but a brief account of the tournament is given by Adam of Murimuth in his Chronica Sui Temporis (Londoni Sumptibus Societatis M.DCCC.XLVI. Kraus Reprint Ltd., Vaduz, 1964. Publications of the English Historical Society), p. 66:

> Hoc anno, parum ante festum sancti Michalis, fecit dominus rex pulcherrima hastiludia Londoniis, in Chepe; ubi regina juvenis, cum multis dominabus cecidit de quadam machina, sine laesione tamen corporum suorum; de quo plurimi mirabantur.

[63]Foedera, ii p. ii 794.

[64]The warrant and the schedule (Exchequer of Receipt. Warrants for Issues, 2/10) are printed by E. Rickert in her compilation, Chaucer's World (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948), pp. 94-95. I have not seen the original document.

[65]M. Douglas, Purity and Danger. An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1966), p. 61.

[66]Abbot G. Gasquet, Parish Life in Medieval England (London: Methuen; 1906), p. 193. The "law of Leviticus" to which Gasquet refers may be found in Leviticus, chapter 12, under the heading "Purification of a woman after childbirth." See The Jerusalem Bible (London: Darton, Longman, and Todd, 1968), p. 118.

[67]The underlined words are printed in italics in the volume with a footnote that explains, "The comments were added in Latin to the French schedule."

[68]Rickert, op. cit., p. 95.

[69]The word "raffatos" also appears in the indenture description of the robe worn by the queen after her coronation.

[70]Mary Anne Everett Green, Lives of the Princesses of England from the Norman Conquest (London: Henry Colburn, 1851), 3 vols., vol. III, p. 168.

[71]On the occasion of the birth of Edward's eldest daughter, Isabella, "Philippa's ladies of the bed-chamber all appeared in new attire purchased for the occasion" (Green, op. cit., vol. III, p. 166).

[72]". . . ." indicates lacuna in the manuscript.

[73]The punctuation is Rickert's.

[74]According to the Oxford English Dictionary, "buckram is found in most of the European langs. between the 12th and 13th c. In early continental and apparently in early Eng. use it denoted a costly and delicate fabric, sometimes of cotton and sometimes of linen; but it afterward acquited the sense of coarse gummed linen used for linings. . . ."

[75]The actual word is "depth" ("profunditate").

[76]Ms. "Ayleshm." This seems to be a type of cloth, but its nature is not known.

[77]This cloth is defined by Willet and Cunnington, op. cit., as "a coarse twilled cloth of cotton; also of wool."

[78]A coverchief ("coverchief") is defined by the Oxford English Dictionary as "an earlier form of kerchief." It could be used with a qualifying word as a cloth used to cover some part of the body. In Costume for Births Marriages and Deaths, by P. Cunnington and C. Lucas (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1972), there is an interesting illustration of what appears to be a coverchief in a contemporary picture of the birth of the earl of Warwick c. 1485. The caption reads, "The mother naked in bed using a sheet as a forehead cloth" (p. 22).

[79]The interpretation of the indenture presents some difficulty at this point. The Latin, as I have

transcribed it, reads:

> Item .xvi. tapeceria rubra et uiridia qualibet longitudine .vii. ulnas .iii. quartas .xvi. tapeceria rubra et uiridia qualibet longitudine .vi. ulnas et latitudine .ii. ulnas .iii. quartas et viii. tapeceria rubra et uiridia qualibet longitudine .iii. ulnas et latitudine .ii. ulnas .iii. quartas.

A clue to the proper interpretation seems to lie in the next entry, "Item idem recepit ad .ii. coopertoria pro predictis .ii. lectis maioribus . . .", with special emphasis on the part, the same received for . . . "

[80]According to the Oxford English Dictionary, tartarin is "a rich stuff, apparently of silk, imported from the East, prob. from China through Tartary."

[81]A cart or "chariota" was a four wheeled cart which was pulled by one or two horses. It normally had a waterproof roof and curtains, either of hide or canvas, to shed water. This information was kindly provided by Dr. Blackley.

[82]Ms. "Luk'." The correct form of this word is probably Luke or Lukes, which is, according to the Oxford English Dictionary, the Anglicized name of the town of Lucca in Italy." This kind of cloth is mentioned frequently in Medieval sources.

[83]This suggestion was offered by Dr. Blackley.

[84]Gabriel Tetzel of Nurmberg, "A German's Impressions of the Court of Edward IV, 1466," English Historical Documents, vol. IV (1327-1485), ed. by A. R. Myers (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1969), pp. 1168-1169.

[85]Printed in Cunnington and Lucas, op. cit., pp. 18-19.

[86]Strickland, op. cit., p. 337.

[87]Green, op. cit., vol. III, p. 66.

[88]Ibid., pp. 164-66.

[89]P. Johnson, op. cit., p. 56.

[90]Green, op. cit., p. e.

[91]The cart or "chariota," mentioned in the indenture which needed "4 covers and 1 long cover," may have been used for this occasion.

[92]Tetzel, op. cit., p. 1168.

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APPENDIX A

E/101/385/12

Hec indentura testatur quod Willelmus de London' cissor domine Philippe regine Anglie recepit de magistro Willelmo la Zouche clerico magne garderobe domini regis ad diuersa apparamenta pro coronacione et releuacione ipsius domine regine/ ac eciam ad robas et alia neccessaria pro corpore ipsius domine regine facienda inter .xxv. diem ianuarii. anno regni regis Edwardi Tercii. a conquestu quarto incipiente et .xxiiii. diem ianuarii eodem anno finiente/ res subscriptas. uidelicet ad .i. tunicam in qua dicta regina equitabat de Turri London' usque Westm' in uigilia diei coronacionis sue/ nouem ulnas. dimidiam. panni uelueti uiridis. Item ad .i. capam in qua similiter equitabat de dicta Turri usque Westm' tres pannos ad aurum dyaspyratos rubros optimos/ duas furras minuti uarii puratas. qualibet de cccxl uentribus. unum capucium puratum. de lx. uentribus. et unum capucium puratum de .xxxii. uentribus. Item ad .i. robam de .iii. garniamentis in qua prandebat eodem die apud Westm' septem pannos ad aurum dyasperatos uirides optimos/ .i. furram puratam. de cccxl. uentribus .i. pennam minuti uarii puratam/ de cccciiii^{xx}.i.

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19. uirides optimos] uirides diasperatos optimos ms.

21 uentribus: et .i. capucium puratum. de xxxii.
uentribus. Item ad .i. tunicam dupplicem et unum mantellum
duplex in quibus prefata regina/ ungebatur et coronabatur
ante summum altare in ecclesia Westm'/ sex. pannos de
samitello rubro et glauco. Item ad .i. tunicam et unum
mantellum in quibus prandebat die coronacionis sue/ tres
pannos ad aurum. purpureos dyasperatos optimos/ et .i.
pennam minuti uarii puratam. de cccciiii.i. uentribus.
Item ad .i. robam de .iii. garniamentis. in qua cenabat
eodem die/ septem pannos ad aurum dyasperatos rubros
optimos .i. furram minuti uarii puratam/ de cccxl.
uentribus/ unam pennam minuti uarii puratam de cccciiii.i.
uentribus/ et i. capucium puratum de xxxii. uentribus.
Item ad .i. robam de .iiii. garniamentis. qua utebatur
post diem coronacionis sue/ viii. pannos ad aurum
raffatos optimos/ duas furras puratas. qualibet de cccxl.
uentribus/ .i. pennam puratam. de .cccciiii.i. uentribus et
duo capucia purata. quolibet de .xl. uentribus. Item ad
dictas robas purfiliandas/ xx. ermynas. Item ad .i. robam
de iii. garniamentis faciendam pro eadem contra
releuacionem suam apud Wodestoke mense iulii anno supradicto/
septem pannos de uelueto rubro. i. furram minuti uarii
puratam de cccxl. uentribus. i. pennam puratam de dxl.
uentribus. et i. capucium puratum de xl. uentribus. Item
ad .i. robam de ii. garniamentis. uidelicet tunica et

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36. furras] ed. furur(as) ms.

46 capa/ quinque pannos ad aurum dyaspyratos rubros/ duas furras minuti uarii puratas. qualibet de cccxl. uentribus. et duo capucia purata quolibet de xl. uentribus. Item ad .i. robam de v. garniamentis faciendam cum squirellis aureis pro eadem/ duodecim pannos uelueti purpurei/ quatuor furras puratas. qualibet de cccxl. uentribus. i. pennam puratam. de dlx. uentribus. duo capucia purata quolibet de xl. uentribus. et i. capucium puratum de xxxii. uentribus. Item ad .i. robam de .iii. garniamentis pro eadem. sex. pannos ad aurum raffatos plunkettos. i. furram puratam de cccxl. uentribus. i. pennam puratam. de dxl. uentribus et i. capucium puratum de xl. uentribus. Item ad .i. clausuram pro capella domine regine/ sex pecias sindonis de triplici tulla. Item ad .i. robam panni lanati de v. garniamentis datam eidem regine per mercatores de Card' , furrandam/ quatuor furras puratas. qualibet de cccxl. uentribus. i. pennam puratam. de dlx uentribus. et i. capucium puratum de xl. uentribus. Item ad dictas robas purfiliandas .xl. ermynas. Item ad iiii.^{or} robas faciendas pro eadem ex consueta liberacione regis pro quatuor festis anni huius/ uidelicet ad. i. robam de v. garniamentis. pro festo Pasche/ unum pannum curtum et quatuordecim ulnas panni mixti de Louan'. iiii.^{or} furras puratas qualibet de cccxx. uentribus. i. pennam puratam de dxlvi. uentribus. duo capucia purata. quolibet de xl. uentribus. et i. capucium

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61. Cardiff] ed. Card ms.

71 puratum de xxxii. uentribus. et pro urturis eiusdem robe ligandis .i. ulnam tele Paris'. Item ad .i. robam de v. garniamentis. pro festo Pentecostis/ i. pannum curtum et xv ulnas panni mixti de Mal' et sex pecias sindonis tule afforciate. Item ad .i. robam de .v. garniamentis pro festo Omnium Sanctorum/ i. pannum longum et nouem ulnas panni brunei mixti in grano de Louan'.
iiii.^{or} furras puratas qualibet de cccxl. uentribus. i. pennam puratam de dxl. uentribus. duo capucia purata quolibet de xl. uentribus. et i. capucium puratum de xxxii. uentribus. Item ad .i. robam de .v. garniamentis pro festo Natalis Domini/ i. pannum longum et septem ulnas panni sanguinei in grano de Brucell' quatuor furras puratas qualibet de cccxl. uentribus. i. pennam puratam de dxl. uentribus. duo capucia purata quolibet de xl. uentribus. et i. capucium puratum de xxxii. uentribus. Item ad .i. robam de v^{que} garniamentis pro eadem/ i. pannum longum et septem ulnas panni keynet et sex pecias sindonis uiridis de triplici. Item ad .i. robam de tirtano datam eidem regine per dominum regem liniandam .vi. pecias sindonis rubri afforciati. Item ad .i. supertunicam rotundam faciendam pro eadem de panno uiridi longo .vii. ulnas. duas furras minuti uarii de viii. tiris .i. capucium puratum de lx. uentribus. Item ad .i. super-tunicam rotundam de garderoba propria furrandam .ii. furras

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74. Mal] ms. abbrev. place name; meaning uncertain.

88. pecias] above the line ms.

96 minuti uarii de viii tiris. et i. capucium puratum de lx. uentribus. Item ad robas predictas purfiliandas .xxxvi. ermynas. Item ad duo paria caligarum pro eadem/ i. ulnam dimidiam quartam panni scarlati. Item ad altera duo paria caligarum pro eadem .i. ulnam panni de Brucell'. Item ad duos lectos cum toto apparatu de nouo faciendos pro dicta releuacione/ quorum unus lectus uiridis et alter ruber. uidelicet ad duas culcitras pro eisdem qualibet/ longitudine .vii. ulnas et latitudine .vii. sindonis de triplici. xxi. pecias .vii. ulnas sindonis de triplici. Item ad .ii. matracia facienda pro eisdem lectis quolibet longitudine .vi. ulnas et latitudine .v. sindonis de triplici. xiii. pecias .iii. ulnas sindonis de triplici. et cxii. libras cotone. Item ad .vi. curtinas faciendas pro eisdem qualibet longitudine septem latitudines sindonis de triplici et profunditate .iii. ulnas. dimidiam .xvi. pecias. iii. ulnas sindonis consimilis. Item ad duas celuras cum uolantibus pro eisdem faciendas qualibet longitudine .vi. ulnas. dimidiam. et latitudine .vii. sindonis .x. pecias .i. ulnam sindonis de triplici/ et ad easdem dupplicandas .iiii. pecias .iiii. ulnas. dimidiam. cardei. Item ad duo dossoria pro eisdem quolibet latitudine .v. sindonis et profunditate .iii. ulnas. dimidiam .iii. pecias viii. ulnas sindonis consimilis/ et ad eadem dupplicanda/ ii. pecias cardei. Item ad ii. ridellos longos pro transuersorio camere quolibet longitudine .xii.

122 latitudines sindonis et profunditate .iii. ulnas. dimidiam. ix. pecias .iii. ulnas sindonis de triplici. Item ad .ii. ridellos de cardeo quolibet longitudine .xii. latitudines cardei et profunditate .iii. ulnas. dimidiam. v. pecias .ix. ulnas cardei. Item ad .ii. caneuacia pro eisdem quolibet longitudine vii. ulnas et latitudine .vi. cardei .v. pecias .ix. ulnas cardei. Item ad. ii. culcitras albas faciendas pro eisdem lectis/ qualibet longitudine .vi. ulnas et latitudine v. bokeri x. pecias .v. ulnas de bokero. pecia continente .v. ulnas. dimidiam. iiii^{xx}i.xvi. ulnas tele Paris' et xxxii. libras. cotonis. Item ad .i. lectum minorem cum toto apparatu de nouo faciendum pro filio domini regis contra eandem releuacionem uidelicet ad .i. culcitram. pro eodem lecto longitudine .vi. ulnas. dimidiam. et latitudine .vi. sindonis. dimidiam. de triplici nouem pecias .iii. ulnas dimidiam sindonis consimilis. Item ad .i. matracium longitudine .v. ulnas dimidiam et latitudine .v. sindonis/ .vi. pecias .i. ulnam sindonis de triplici. et xlviii. libras cotonis/ Item ad .iii. curtinas pro eodem lecto qualibet longitudine .vii. latitudines sindonis de triplici et profunditate .iii. ulnas. dimidiam. viii. pecias .i. ulnam. dimidiam. sindonis de triplici. Item ad .i. celuram cum uolantibus longitudine .v. ulnas. dimidiam. et latitudine .vi. sindonis. iii. pecias .vi. ulnas sindonis de triplici. et ad eandem celuram dupplicandam

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131. .v. ulnas. dimidiam.] underlined ms.

138. .v. ulnas dimidiam] dimidiam above the line ms.

147 .x. ulnas dimidam. cardei. Item ad .i. dossorium pro eodem lecto latitudine .iiii.^{or} sindonis. et profunditate .iii. ulnas. dimidiam. i. peciam .v. ulnas sindonis de triplici. et ad idem dossorium dupplicandum .x. ulnas. dimidiam. cardei. Item ad .i. culcitram albam longitudine .v. ulnas. dimidiam. quartam. et latitudine .iiii. bokeri .iiii. pecias. dimidiam. ulnam. de bokero .xxxviii. ulnas tele Paris' et xiiii. libras cotonis. Item ad .i. ridellum pro camera sua longitudine .xii. latitudines sindonis de triplici et profunditate .iii. ulnas. dimidiam .iiii. pecias vi. ulnas sindonis consimilis. Item ad .i. ridellum de cardeo pro eadem camera longitudine .xii. latitudines cardei/ et profunditate iii. ulnas. dimidiam .ii. pecias .xii. ulnas cardei. Item ad .i. caneuacium pro eodem lecto longitudine .vii. ulnas. et latitudine .vi. cardei .ii. pecias .xii. ulnas cardei. Item ad .iii. auricularia longa quolibet longitudine .iii. ulnas. et xii. auricularia minora quolibet longitudine .i. ulnam. dimidiam. facienda pro predictis tribus lectis/ duas pecias viii. ulnas. dimidiam de Aylesham .iii. pecias sindonis de triplici. et lx. libras plume minute. Item ad .xxii. quissynos faciendos pro eisdem lectis .xxxiiii. ulnas tele Paris' quatuor pecias de fustaneo/ tres pannos de samitello panno continente in longitudine .xiii. ulnas et in latitudine .iii. quartam. dimidiam. et cxxxii. libras

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170. .xiii. ulnas] underlined ms.

171. .iii. quartam dimidiam] underlined ms.

172 plume minute c^{a} per v^{xx}. Item ad tria caneuacia facienda pro predictis robis et lectis intrussandis et saluo custodiendis/ liiii. ulnas canabii. Item .iii. couerchiefs longa. pro eisdem lectis/ xvii. ulnas tele de Reyns. Item ad diuersa opera super culcitras/ matracia/ et alia supradicta facienda .xxii. libras. serici. Item pro curtinis/ ridellis et aliis circa dictos lectos et in cameris predictis tenendis/ lxxi. libras. corde de filo rubro et uiridi. Item pro predictis curtinis/ et tapeceriis subscriptis ligandis/ lxiiii libras de rubano. Item pro predictis culcitris albis punctandis et consuendis .viii. libras fili minuti. Item pro dictis curtinis/ ridellis et aliis in eisdem cameris pendendis/ mille. anulos de cupro. Item .xvi. tapeceria rubra et uiridia/ qualibet longitudine .vii. ulnas et latitudine .ii. ulnas .iii. quartas. xvi. tapeceria rubra et uiridia qualibet longitudine .vi. ulnas et latitudine .ii. ulnas .iii. quartas. et viii. tapeceria rubra et uiridia qualibet longitudine iiii. ulnas et latitudine .ii. ulnas .iii. quartas. Item idem recepit ad .ii. coopertoria pro predictis .ii. lectis maioribus .xx. ulnas panni scarlati longi. et xxiii. ulnas panni scarlati curti/ i. coopertorium minuti uarii puratum de $m^{l}m^{l}$ $cciiii^{xx}$i uentribus. et i. coopertorium minuti uarii puratum de $m^{l}dccccxliiii$. uentribus. Item ad .ii.

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172 c^{a} per v^{xx}] underlined ms.

191 pro] above the line ms.

196 couerchiefs pro eisdem/ duos pannos de uelueto .i. couer-
chiefium minuti uarii puratum. de cccciiii^{xx}i uentribus. et
.i. couerchiefium minuti uarii puratum de ccccxxxii.
uentribus. Item ad .i. coopertorium pro tercio lecto
predicto .xv. ulnas panni scarlati. unum coopertorium.
minuti uarii puratum de dclx. uentribus/ et ad .i. couer-
chiefium pro eodem lecto .i. pannum uelueti et i. couer-
chiefium minuti uarii puratum de ciiii^{xx}i. uentribus. Item
ad .i. coopertorium uetus de ermynis liniandum/ duos pannos
tartarini. de colore nideo/ et ad .i. borduram circa idem
coopertorium faciendam/ quatuor pannos ad aurum dyasperatos
bonos/ et ad .i. couerchiefium pro eodem coopertorio .i.
pannum rubrum raffatum ad aurum poudratum. et i. couer-
chiefium minuti uarii puratum. de cccciiii^{xx}i. uentribus.
Item .i. cunabulum magnum ad aurum depictum cum quatuor
Euangelistis/ et cum quodam cumulo coopertorio de
scarlato cum lista de panno azureo et liniato infra de
panno taffate nidee. Item ad duo coopertoria pro eodem
cunabulo/ xii. ulnas panni scarlati longi et xv. ulnas
panni scarlati de dimidio grano. i. coopertorium minuti
uarii puratum de dclx. uentribus. i. coopertorium minuti
uarii de dimidio puratum continens ccclii. uentribus/ et
ad .i. couerchiefium pro eodem cunabulo .i. pannum
uelueti rubri. et i. couerchiefium minuti uarii puratum
de ciiii^{xx}i. uentribus. et .i. ligamen [.....] minus ad

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220 lacuna of about 20 letters ms.

aurum depictum/ et ad .i. coopertorium pro eodem .x. ulnas. panni uiridis/ et .i. coopertorium de griseo. continens. dx. tergos. Item ad linthiamina/ [.....cu] nabulis et lectis predictis/ cccxx. ulnas tele Paris' delicate. et xl. ulnas panni albi et i. ligamen de serico pro eodem minori cunabulo. [.....]os/ quatuor bahudes/ et i. bahudem longum pro chariota dicte regine. Item idem recepit pro apparatu et ornacione camerarum domine [.....]/ triginta et sex. pannos ad aurum dyaspyratos/ triginta et quatuor pannos ad aurum de Luk'/quatuor pannos tartarini. cum [.....sind] onis afforciati. Item idem recepit pro dominabus et domicellis camere domine regine predicte .i. furram. dimidiam. minuti uarii de vii. tiris/ ix. furras [.....c] apucia purata. quolibet de xl. uentribus. Et memorandum quod computatum cum predicto Willelmo de London' .xix. die marcii [.....] ipsum factis tam circa consuturam et facturam robarum et quarundam rerum predictarum/ quam pro diuersis neccessariis pro corpore/ [.....] de locacione domus officii sui et de uadiis suis dummodo prefata domina regina extiterit ad custodiam regis [.....] ordinacionen robarum/ lectorum/ et aliarum rerum predictarum/ fuit summa totalis debit' et

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223 lacuna of about 20 letters ms.
226 lacuna of about 22 letters ms.
229 lacuna of about 22 letters ms.
230 Luk] abbreviation place name, meaning uncertain ms.
231 lacuna of about 23 letters ms.
234 lacuna of about 26 letters ms.
236 lacuna of about 28 letters ms.
239 lacuna of about 33 letters ms.
241 lacuna of about 37 letters ms.

243 alloc' eidem/ quinquaginta [.....] In cuius rei testimonium predicti magister Willelmus la Zouche et Willelmus de London' huic indenture [.....] to die maii. anno regni regis Edwardi supradicti /quinto.

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243 lacuna of about 41 letters ms.
245 lacuna of about 44 letters ms.

APPENDIX B

PREPARATIONS FOR THE UPRISING OF QUEEN PHILIPPA AFTER THE BIRTH OF HER ELDEST SON, 1330

Exchequer of Receipt. Warrants for Issues, 2/10.

Edward, by the Grace of God King of England . . . to the treasurer and chamberlains of our Exchequer, greeting. We are sending you enclosed herein a schedule containing many things which will be needed for the uprising of Philippa, Queen of England, our beloved consort, from childbirth. So we command and charge you that you cause payment to be made without delay from our treasure for the provision and purchase of all these things, to our beloved clerk, Master William la Zouche, clerk of Our Great Wardrobe, of all such moneys as shall be needed. And for our honor and that of our said Consort, you should take order as soon as you can, without any excuse, for payment to be made, lest through your fault the things be not ready on the said day of uprising.

Given under our seal at Woodstock, the nineteenth of June in the fourth year of our reign.[1]

The schedule. One robe of red velvet of three garments, to wit coat, surcoat, and mantle, with facings of pure miniver, 6 pieces.

For the churching of my Lady, a coat and hood (chape) of cloth of gold, with facings of miniver, 5 pieces.

For the great banquet, a robe embroidered with gold, of five garments, with facings of pure miniver--the facings are lacking.[2]

For the evening, a robe of silken cloth worked with fine gold, of 3 garments, coat, surcoat, and mantle, with pure fur, 6 pieces.

A coverlet of scarlet cloth with facing of miniver, for the great cradle for the infant, and a kerchief--lacking, namely, half a cloth.

Item, a cloth (clotet) for the Queen's Chapel of crimson sendal of Tripoli, 6 pieces.

Item, a coverlet of scarlet for the said Queen, with the facing of pure miniver, and a kerchief for my Lady--Provided.

Item, a coverlet of fine cloth of gold with facings for the bed of my said Lady and a kerchief--not known hitherto.

Item, bear in mind the cloths of gold for hanging the great chamber; and fueling for the said chamber.

Item, fur of miniver for one robe of the best, of five garments, made of my Lady's person.

Item, for dames and demoiselles of the chamber, 7-1/2 furs of "popr'," 10 furs of "grow," one fur and a half of miniver.

Item, for the dames and demoiselles of the chamber, eight hoods (chaperons) of miniver and one hood of miniver of 40 skins.

Item, two coffers for the infant's chamber.

--Chaucer's World, E. Rickert, Compiler, Edited by C. Olson and M. Crow. New York: Columbia University Press, 1948, pp. 94-95.